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MR. DISRAELI'S AMENDMENTS.

IF Mr. DISRAELI's Amendments are to be judged fairly, they must be looked at from the point of view which was occupied by those who framed them. The object of these amendments is to put the Conservative party in the best possible position for fighting Mr. GLADSTONE's Bill in detail. The Opposition, on being beaten by a decisive majority on the second reading, had to consider what course it should pursue. It might wholly refuse to discuss the provisions of the Bill, on the ground that it was not its business to make a monstrous act of sacrilege or robbery a little less monstrous. Allowing the Bill to pass through Committee without opposition, it might have taken a final division by way of protest, and then have left the rejection of the measure to the Lords. The Lords would be sure to reject the Bill if the leaders of the Conservative party urged them to do so; but the inevitable consequence of this rejection would be that Mr. DISRAELI would be called on to form a Ministry. If the country would support him, if a new election would give a Conservative majority, then all would be well. The House of Lords would have successfully exercised its constitutional power, and the Irish Church Bill would be at an end. But if the country would not support him, then not only must the Irish Church Bill pass exactly as Mr. GLADSTONE might like to frame it, but the political independence of the Lords would be finally crushed. It has, therefore, seemed prudent to the Conservative leaders not to risk so much. They prefer to have two strings to their bow. They can still protest by a final division on the third reading; and if any marvellous turn in public opinion takes place, they can still get the Bill thrown out in the Lords. But if the Bill must pass, they can try to alter it so as to make it as pleasant and profitable to the Irish Church as possible. Of course, in proposing amendments, some concession must be made. The Bill is a Bill for disestablishing and disendowing the Irish Church. Any amendment which is not a mere negation of the principle of the Bill must be nominally consistent with disestablishment and disendowment. The Conservatives are necessarily forced in Committee to accept disestablishment, and to try to mitigate its evils; to accept disendowment, but to limit to the utmost its operation. We cannot suppose that even Orangemen and Irish Bishops, or that even still more vague and reckless and unreflecting partisans, if there are any, can fail to understand the ground taken by the leaders of the party. Mr. DISRAELI, on behalf of his party, has protested altogether against disestablishment as wrong and impolitic, and pregnant with the last extremity of national evil; but if he opposes in Committee a Bill for disestablishment, he must accept the principle of disestablishment as for the moment conceded and recognised on both sides. He has pronounced all tampering with the property of the Irish Church to be fatal to the security of property generally, and eminently prejudicial to the interests of Protestantism and of good government. But if he goes into Committee on a Bill for disendowing the Irish Church, he must take disendowment for granted, and can do no more than restrain its operation. All this is so obvious that we do not believe he has a single Parliamentary supporter who will fail to see it. And nothing can be more unlikely than that the Conservative party will be divided or broken up because any considerable portion of it will be unable to see that it is open, both in good faith and in logic, for the party to say that they have protested and will protest again against the measure altogether, but still that, if they are to discuss a Bill for disestablishment and disendowment, they will try to make these sources of mischief as little mischievous as possible.

If the right policy of the Conservative party was to go into Committee with a series of amendments accepting the principles of the Bill but taking from them almost all operative force, the amendments which Mr. DISRAELI has proposed are very well calculated to carry out this policy. They admit

disestablishment, but they erect in Ireland a powerful ecclesiastical body, based on existing diocesan arrangements, and which in 1872 may resume very intimate relations with the Crown. They admit disendowment, but they give back to the Church every sixpence that is taken from it. It was impossible to provide against disestablishment as effectually as against disendowment. If the connexion between Church and State is to cease, it cannot be made by any amendments, consistent with the principle of disestablishment, to go on existing. The Irish Bishops must cease to sit in the Lords, the Ecclesiastical Courts must lose their jurisdiction, the State must cease to determine what doctrines may or may not be held by Churchmen. All this is unavoidable, and Mr. DISRAELI has not been able to do more towards the repairing of the evils of disestablishment than to propose that the present dignitaries of the Church shall continue to enjoy the titles and precedence now accorded to them (which may seem a trifle, but which would keep up some of the social marks of Protestant ascendancy for a generation), that the new ecclesiastical body shall grow out of existing diocesan arrangements, and that after 1871 the Crown may again appoint to bishoprics, if it and the ecclesiastical body agree in wishing that appointments should be so made. These alterations are slight in themselves, and to admit or reject them is a question of discretion rather than principle. There is no reason why the new ecclesiastical body should not be formed as Mr. DISRAELI proposes; and the only answer is, that it will be wiser to let the Church act entirely for itself, and on its own responsibility, and that it is for it to adopt, not for the Government to prescribe, Mr. DISRAELI's proposal. We cannot see any reason why a Protestant Church should not agree that the layman who, from time to time, should hold a certain office like that of First Lord of the Treasury should, if himself a Churchman, appoint to bishoprics as the best means of avoiding clerical animosities and scandals, and securing the appointment of learned, moderate, and liberal men. The objection is not a theoretical, but a practical, one. Any connexion, of however innocent a kind, between the Government and the Protestant Episcopal Church in Ireland is so likely to be misinterpreted, that it may be wiser for English politicians to say once for all that they will have nothing to do with appointing Irish Bishops. Still what Mr. DISRAELI proposes with regard to disestablishment is small and unimportant, and worth fair discussion. But when he gets to disendowment, he can frame his amendments in a much more effectual way. The Bill proposes to take away the property of the Irish Church, but to give back a portion of it. The amendments proceed in the same line as the Bill, but push the process a little further. They go on giving back under this head, and giving back under that head, until all is virtually given back. The Church body is at once to receive fourteen times the annual value of what is now received by bishops and incumbents; for commutation is not to be in the discretion of the annuitant, but is to be made on application of the Church body, directly it is shown that this body will satisfactorily protect the interests of the incumbent. Then four times this same annual value is to be at once handed over to the Church body, by way of compensation to laymen for having the funds of their Church taken from it. The Church, therefore, starts with eighteen times its annual revenue as a fund in hand. It is then to get a sum equal to fourteen times the annual amount expended by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners on the average of the last ten years for repairs and maintenance of fabrics, and for the performance of divine service, and fourteen times the annual amount of what will be necessary to keep up in proper style cathedrals and other churches worthy to be called national monuments. It is to have all existing glebes and parsonages made over to it; it is to keep all lands given to it by statute or Royal grant since the second year of the reign of ELIZABETH, and it is to have all private endowments, not from 1660, but from the

remotest period. And here the amendments get wonderfully bold. In the first place, Mr. DISRAELI provides that, in addition to the paid Commissioners named by Government, there shall be three Commissioners named by Mr. DISRAELI himself, and that any one who does not get on well with the paid Commissioners may appeal to two of Mr. DISRAELI's nominees. It would be for these gentlemen to decide what possessions of the Church shall be continued to it as private endowments, and to facilitate their decisions Mr. DISRAELI expressly provides that they need not go by legal evidence, but may be satisfied with any sort of historical or other proof they happen to fancy. Lastly, the new Church body is to be provided with 200,000*l.* to pay its official staff. Disendowment would certainly be stripped of its terrors on these terms, and so far from the owners of property being frightened by it, they could only wish that they might be disendowed in the same way. For the Church would get back a good deal more than it gave, more especially as the tithe rent-charges are to be redeemed by the landowners, not at the fixed rate of twenty-two and a-half years' purchase, but at the average market price during the ten years before 1872. Even if the Church kept all its lands, whether derived from public or private sources, the rest of its property would not be sufficient to yield eighteen times the annual value of the incomes of bishops and incumbents, and to provide for all the other purposes indicated by Mr. DISRAELI; and therefore more money would be wanted than the Church has now got. The Church would, in fact, have to come to the State to help it to disendow itself, and we should have to find money to make it richer than it is now.

This general result saves Mr. DISRAELI from much embarrassment. He does not alter the proposed destination of the surplus, for there will not, according to his plan, be any surplus to distribute. He cuts out the clauses for compensation to the Presbyterians and Maynooth, because he has taken care that the Church shall not find the money for the purpose, and if the State likes to find it, that is the affair of the State, and has nothing to do with a Bill regarding the Irish Church. He does not even interfere with the landowners, whom he a short time ago entreated to beware of being bribed into robbing the Church at the cost of making all Irish landed property insecure. They can scarcely be accused of robbing her if she is to receive, under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, more than she has now. Conservatives must be very hard to please who, so far as disendowment goes, are not satisfied with Mr. DISRAELI's amendments; but we may still ask whether the policy that has prompted these amendments is a wise one. They go so far, they extend so thoroughly to every part of the Bill dealing with the property of the Church, they are so linked together, that they constitute a rival scheme to that of Mr. GLADSTONE. None of the purposes for which the Liberal party has striven would be gained if these amendments were carried. They may thus be said to go too far. The choice is not between this and that solution of a question of detail, but between Mr. GLADSTONE's Bill and Mr. DISRAELI's Bill. This gives the Ministry an unquestionable advantage. Mr. GLADSTONE will be able to treat each of Mr. DISRAELI's amendments as part of a general scheme, and nothing could be better calculated to keep the Liberal majority from falling away. Some of the long list of amendments are merely verbal, and are intended to improve the language of the Bill; but all the main amendments are so conceived that, if the Government should be beaten on any of them, it must withdraw the Bill. These amendments do not in fact lead the way to a compromise. They are so drafted that the Government must oppose them totally and directly. Now, if the real object of Mr. DISRAELI was to get slightly better terms for the Irish Church from the Commons, he would have taken a course little likely to be successful. But evidently this is not his object. He wants, in the first place, to stand well with his party, to give them confidence in him, to make even furious Irishmen feel that they are not being betrayed, and that even when he goes into Committee and accepts under protest disestablishment and disendowment, he knows how to work these odious proposals so as to benefit the Church. His amendments appear to be very well adapted to this end, and will rather tend to cheer and encourage and confirm the Conservatives in their opposition than to divide and dishearten them. In the next place, Mr. DISRAELI may reasonably calculate that the real battle will be fought in the Lords. In all probability, the Lords will pass the Second Reading, and then the Conservatives will propose and carry their amendments. The use of proposing ineffectual amendments in the Commons is to ascertain what amendments may be effectually proposed in the Lords. For this purpose, it may not have

been imprudent to put forward in the Commons amendments of an extreme character, sure to provoke discussion and to catch the attention of the country. If Mr. DISRAELI had only proposed such amendments as he had some hope of carrying in the Commons, he would have been precluded from asking for more from the Lords. But by starting with outrageous and audacious demands in the Commons, which he knows cannot be conceded, he may enable the Conservative peers to seem comparatively moderate when they come to make their amendments. As the leader of his party, he has made a party move in devising the amendments he now submits to the House of Commons, and it is unreasonable to judge of a party move by any other test than whether it is likely to benefit his party, and him as leader of that party; and if they are judged by this test, it is as yet much too soon to say that these amendments are impolitic or ill-devised.

REJECTION OF THE ALABAMA TREATY.

THE almost unanimous rejection, by the American Senate, of the *Alabama* Treaty closes one of the strangest negotiations which have ever been instituted. The repercussion of political noise has produced in the United States entire mental and moral confusion. Seven or eight months ago all parties seemed ready to concur in an arbitration of the long-standing dispute. The appointment of Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON was confirmed by the Senate, notwithstanding the hostility of its members to the PRESIDENT, with full knowledge that he was commissioned to arrange the very settlement which he afterwards effected. Scarcely a protest was uttered against the policy of Mr. SEWARD, who had certainly never erred on the side of excessive courtesy or deference to England. The new Minister encountered the most pacific of Foreign Secretaries, and when the change of Government took place Lord CLARENDON was, if possible, more inclined to concession than Lord STANLEY. When the terms of the treaty were made public, a general impression prevailed that anxiety for reconciliation had exercised an almost excessive influence on the minds of the English negotiators; but no serious opposition would have been offered to the payment of even a heavy price for the renewal of friendly relations with the United States. The extraordinary and unreasonable irritation which has lately arisen in America could by no possibility be anticipated. The outburst of hostility is not confined to any class or any party, and yet none of its numerous exponents have attempted to suggest any reason for the universal change of opinion. The few hesitating dissidents who had first objected to the popular cry of vengeance have long since, after the docile fashion of their country, acquiesced in the clamour and swelled it in their turn. England ought, they say, to have foreseen that the supposed offence against American feeling would be followed by many years of hatred; and nearly every journalist devotes himself to the fulfilment of the retrospective prophecy. It was at least impossible to foresee that the temperate mood of 1863 would effervesce in 1869 into universal animosity. It is not pretended that any new cause of complaint has arisen since the appointment of Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON.

Prudent Englishmen from the first doubted whether frequent and effusive professions of friendship constituted an improvement in diplomacy; but it was not their business to inquire into the fitness for his post of a foreign Minister who had been recently selected by the proper department of his Government. It was known that Mr. JOHNSON had received an unusual compliment in the approval of his nomination by his political opponents. A conspicuous Democrat, he appeared to enjoy the confidence of the Republicans; and if his proceedings in England were somewhat unusual, it was proper to assume that he consulted the tastes and wishes of his fellow-citizens. His overtures were consequently received in the most cordial spirit, although the belief accorded to his eloquent professions of goodwill may perhaps have been principally conventional. His indiscreet speeches at various public dinners, when they were reported in the United States, caused general indignation. All writers and speakers hastened to declare that they were outraged by a statement that their feelings were anything more amiable than a compound of envy, hatred, and malice. For once the anger which was expressed was intelligible, although it might be unjust. It is almost an insult to a man with a grievance to assert that, except in a Christian sense, he has forgiven or forgotten an alleged wrong. It was perfectly natural that Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON should be censured for his undoubted misrepresentation of public opinion; but it was hard on the involuntary recipients of his courtesies to be included in the

same condemnation. A simple-minded correspondent of a New York paper actually denounced as an insult to the United States every civility which might be offered to the American Minister. The formal credentials of his Government conveyed, according to the new version of the rules of international comity, no title to respect, or even to recognition. Any misunderstanding which might have arisen has since been effectually corrected. The more credulous and amiable portion of the community, which had trusted Mr. REVERDY JOHNSON's opinions, has soon been thoroughly undeceived. It would be difficult to convince any sceptic who still doubts that the Americans detest England. On this side of the water it is difficult to believe that a feeling so utterly groundless, and so entirely unreciprocated, can be generally entertained; but overwhelming evidence supersedes all considerations of probability.

The special objections which may have been urged against the treaty are comparatively immaterial, because it is certain that the Senate would have rejected any arrangement to which the English Government could possibly have assented. The organs of opinion unreservedly avow that the American people wish to keep the quarrel open until some opportunity arises for inflicting humiliation on England. In the meantime it is hoped that the disappointment and uneasiness which may attend the rejection of the treaty will, to a certain extent, gratify the popular resentment. The abject and absurd professions of contrition which have proceeded from some eminent English statesmen are constantly quoted with a contemptuous pleasure as proofs of the anxiety of Englishmen for an early settlement. One London Correspondent of a New York paper declares, with characteristic elegance and good-breeding, that England only desires to have her punishment over. If Mr. GLADSTONE has time to read American journals, he may have convinced himself that he has done no good by his extravagant apologies for the presumption of having formed a judgment on American affairs. As usual in similar cases, the feelings and opinions of Englishmen are in a great measure misapprehended by unfriendly foreigners. Having done their utmost, by diplomatic concession and by private expressions of goodwill, to deprecate hostility, they are comparatively indifferent to the failure of their efforts. The draft of the *Alabama* Treaty was not so flattering to national vanity as to cause deep regret at the decision of the Senate. The American Government will, after all, be guided by the same motives of interest which would have survived the conclusion of any possible treaty. If a war with England seemed at any time desirable, there would never have been any difficulty in finding a cause of quarrel; and, on the other hand, the national debt will not be doubled for the superfluous object of proving that hatred to England is profound and sincere. It may be conjectured that Mr. MOTLEY will not receive instructions to renew negotiations; and they will not at present be recommended by any English Minister. Mr. MOTLEY will be in his personal capacity highly welcome; and he is not of a disposition to fall into the error which has been incurred by his unlucky predecessor. Henceforth it will be known to all the world, as well as to politicians acquainted with the American Constitution, that no Minister can ever morally bind the Government of the United States by any engagement.

If the controversy as to the recognition of belligerent rights is at any future time revived, the relations of public bodies in the United States to the insurgents of Cuba will furnish matter for amusing and instructive comment. The House of Representatives has, with the unanimity which it always displays when any affront can be offered to a foreign Power, requested the PRESIDENT by anticipation to recognise any rebel Government which may be established. The Confederacy administered, with the aid of the State Governments, unquestioned authority over one half of the Union, and, with one exception, all the members of the Federal Cabinet expressed the opinion that coercion was illegal and unjustifiable. The insurgents of Cuba have uncertain possession of scattered portions of the island, and it is not pretended that any doubt exists in Spain as to the right of maintaining the dominion of the Mother-country; yet the offence of recognising an obvious fact is represented as unpardonable by the same politicians who are already contemplating the annexation of Cuba. Munitions of war are constantly forwarded from American ports for the use of the insurgents; and the legal authorities take no steps to interfere with the equipment in the port of New York of an armed cruiser intended for the service of the rebels. It is never surprising that men should apply one standard to their own conduct and another to the proceedings of their fellow-creatures; but the House of Representatives is somewhat too

cynical in its contempt for ostensible consistency. The acquisition of Cuba will probably be accomplished with little difficulty, whether the intermediate form of independence is observed according to the Texas precedent, or passed over as useless.

MR. NEWDEGATE'S MOTION.

IT is not a matter for any regret that the whole of Thursday night should have been occupied with a discussion on the general principle of the Irish Church Bill. An attempt to delay a Bill after it has passed the second reading, by proposing that the House shall not go into Committee on it, would, as a general rule, be contrary to the established rules of Parliamentary warfare. There must be such rules, or Parliamentary Government could not go on at all. The Opposition, by having recourse to all the engines of delay which the forms of the House permit, can stop any Bill from becoming law; and at the close of the last two Sessions Government Bills have been defeated by an unsparing use of this method of crushing them. But if great Parliamentary battles were fought in this way no legislation would be possible, and a complete change would have to be made in the character and proceedings of the House of Commons if the Government of the country was to be carried on. The Opposition must be content to accept its defeat after a fair amount of discussion has taken place, and no man has recognised this more thoroughly and more consistently than Mr. DISRAELI. It is greatly to his credit that he has shown himself one of the least factious leaders of Opposition ever known in the House of Commons. It would have been a departure from all those rules of conducting the opposition to the Government which he has sedulously maintained, if he had himself brought forward Mr. NEWDEGATE's motion. But Mr. NEWDEGATE's motion was not, strictly speaking, a move on the part of the Opposition. The Irish Church Bill, is a very exceptional measure, and deep feelings are awakened by it which animate bodies of men who on this occasion act with the Conservative party, but who have an existence and sentiments and persuasions of their own. There are the Irish Protestants, there are the general supporters of Protestantism in Great Britain, there are the enemies of Maynooth. All these sets of persons have most decided views about the Bill, which they wish to bring forward and advocate on their own responsibility, and they cannot bear easily to be bound by a mere defeat of the Conservative party. On Thursday night they had their opportunity. They uttered the thoughts that were burning within their breasts, and it was very desirable that such an amount of relief should be given them. Mr. GLADSTONE fully recognised this, and he had the satisfaction of being able to point out that the views of the speakers were mutually destructive, and that the expression of them had not only been grateful to the speakers, but useful to the Ministry. One member occupied a position without parallel, we believe, in the whole United Kingdom, and thought that a satisfactory method of dealing with the Irish Church might be found in the adoption of the suggestions of the Royal Commissioners. Another was for levelling up; one member for Dublin University took occasion to protest against the views of the other; the fierce Orangemen shrieked "No surrender"; the irrepressible WHALLEY informed the House that he was getting ready no fewer than a dozen MURPHYS to annoy peaceable people in different parts of the country. There was nothing in all this to hurt the Government or to help the Opposition. It was merely an explosion of passionate feeling that needed and found vent, and the House is likely to go on better and faster in Committee now that the explosion has taken place.

Great indulgence should be shown to the Irish Protestants. No one can doubt that they feel from the bottom of their hearts that the Irish Church Bill is a most odious, dangerous, and wicked measure. They think that, having borne the burden and heat of the day in upholding English supremacy in Ireland, they are now thrown over by those for whom they worked. They consider that an institution most valuable to them socially, politically, and religiously, is to be destroyed out of mere caprice, and because a few hotheaded English statesmen have chosen to despair of governing Ireland peacefully unless they truckle to the Ultramontane Catholics. They will not hear of any compromise. Their great Conference has assembled, and its members are almost unanimous in pronouncing that for the State to touch the Irish Church at all will kill it, will stamp out Protestantism, will make the priests masters of Ireland, and will retard and cripple, if it does not utterly destroy, all progress and civilization in the country. Those who have formed such strong opinions, and who must

be affected so largely by the Bill, have a right to be heard, not only as members of the Conservative party, but as constituting that section of the community which is most immediately and directly interested in the rejection or passing of Mr. GLADSTONE'S measure. When, however, they have had their say, we do not know what more is to be done. The only answer to be given is, that we hope they will not be so much injured by the Bill as they think; but that, whether they are injured or not, the Bill must pass if the Liberal party is to govern Ireland on its own principles. These principles may be right or wrong, but we cannot conceive how any one can think it consistent with them that a Church should be maintained the object of which is to symbolize the hatred of the conquerors for the religion of the conquered. We wish that the Irish Protestants would weigh well and carefully this description of their Church given by an English Archbishop. They may adopt it, and say that they think such a symbolized institution a good thing; but then they must feel that they raise an issue between themselves and the Liberal party which must be settled once for all. Or they may reject it, and say that the Archbishop of York was wrong; but then they should ask themselves how it has happened that an English prelate, who last year was one of their warmest and most domineering supporters, came to form such an opinion of their Church. We are exceedingly sorry for the Irish Protestants; we much regret the sectarian character which, we fear, is likely to be imparted to the Irish clergy, as it would be to any clergy, by disestablishment; we do not believe that the measure will conciliate the priests, and we are sure that it will not mitigate the animosity of the Fenians; but the English nation is, as the last elections showed, a nation desirous of being governed on Liberal principles, and it is clearly inconsistent with these principles that the State should associate itself with an institution symbolical of the religious hatred of conquerors. The difference between the principles of the Irish Protestants and those of the Liberal party is fundamental, and we can only put forward our principles and carry them out, even at the cost of aggrieving and annoying persons whom in many points we respect and admire. We do not see the good of giving the Irish Protestants bad arguments in reply, because we do not think their arguments good. Tired of repeating the old arguments over which he has so often travelled, Mr. GLADSTONE on Thursday night devised a new argument against the Irish Protestants, and a very bad argument it was. He said that the great Protestant hero himself, WILLIAM III., was at one time willing to give the Irish Catholics half the Irish Churches, and even half their ancient properties. But Mr. GLADSTONE answered his argument himself when he informed the House that the reason of this strange liberality was that WILLIAM found that the disaffection of Ireland detained forty thousand excellent troops that might have been available for his great war with France. WILLIAM III. was a very good Protestant, but his love of Protestantism shone with a feeble ray as compared with his hatred of LOUIS XIV. He offered a bribe in order to obtain a military advantage, but his offer was not accepted, even if it was ever seriously made, which seems very improbable. The Irish Catholics chose to stake their fortunes on the chance of beating him with the help of France. He beat them, and then to keep them down, set up the system of Protestant ascendancy. This is the very case of the Irish Protestants. They were employed for a certain purpose, which they punctually and faithfully fulfilled, and now they ask why they should be deprived of their reward. These excursions into history are profitless and irrelevant. It is perfectly easy and perfectly useless to show that a quarter of a century ago Mr. DISRAELI, who could never have dreamt then that he would live to be a Conservative Premier, gave utterance to the ordinary opinions of educated men about the Irish Church, or that Lord PALMERSTON and Lord RUSSELL honestly believed that the Irish Church would last their time, and spoke on various occasions in accordance with their belief. We may forget the past and look only to the present, and the question of the present is whether, if England is to be governed on Liberal principles, an institution so much out of harmony with these principles as the Irish Church can be maintained.

We do not see how the ordinary arguments based on the necessity of upholding Protestantism could have been better put than they were put by Lord SANDON. As he very truly says, Catholicism is, in theory at least, quite opposed to all the principles of the Liberal party here and everywhere. Personal freedom, the freedom of the press, the freedom of opinion, the exclusion of ecclesiastics from the practical machinery of Government, are all things which we in England think

very good, and they are all expressly denounced as dangerous and wicked by the highest authorities of the Romish Church. It is also true that Protestantism has learnt to accommodate itself to them, and it is very much easier for a Protestant nation than for a Catholic nation to be really liberal. But there was a time when, out of the political necessities of very dangerous and difficult times, and before the progress of science and wealth had moulded Protestantism into its present form, Protestantism was only liberal in a very small degree, and persecuted and conquered and domineered almost as much as the rival creed. Some relics of this state of things still remain; nor would any wise man wish that all these relics should be at once swept away. But every now and then the conscience of the English people is awakened to the perception of an inconsistency, too gross to be endured, between one of their traditions and the general principles of modern Government. Then the relic of the past is cut away, and Protestantism and Liberal principles seem once more reconciled. Such a crisis has, we believe, come now, and the Irish Church must give way, although at the same time we have much sympathy with those who, like Lord SANDON, stand up boldly for Protestantism, and who, having the sense and courage to look below the smooth surface of things, see and point out that between Catholicism and the modern world there is a great gulf fixed. It was also opportune, we think, that Mr. AYTOUN should have had his say on behalf of those who think that Mr. GLADSTONE has been too favourable to Maynooth. This part of the Bill will need much and long discussion in order to convince objectors that the Government is right. Appearances of a kind likely to bewilder people not much accustomed to argument are against Mr. GLADSTONE. In the first place, he seems to be taking the money of the Protestants and giving it to the Catholics; in the next place, he seems to be providing a Catholic institution with a large lump sum forming an endowment fund for the perpetual instruction of Catholic priests, and not forming a mere guarantee fund for the protection of existing interests. We know how Mr. GLADSTONE answers both these accusations; but, in the first place, he has not yet had an opportunity of proving in detail that he is right, and even if he is right, he must expect to have to din his reasons into the public mind by constant repetition. Every opportunity that is given him of doing so is desirable, unless it is given at the cost of a serious delay in passing the Bill. But there seems to be no great fear of such a delay, for Mr. GLADSTONE appears to have got hold of a majority that will not only vote like a machine as he wishes, but will hold its tongue when he bids it be silent. And what could a Minister wish for more?

THE DEBATE ON THE BUDGET.

THE discursive and dull debate of Monday last disclosed some inconveniences which will result from the adoption of Mr. LOWE'S Budget. It was, indeed, obvious from the first that the contributors to a forced loan or benevolence would be exposed to a certain amount of hardship; but such methods of raising money have not usually been employed for the direct and immediate benefit of the taxpayers. The anticipation in January next of the payment of direct taxes is the price of the reduction of the Income-tax, and of the abolition of some troublesome duties. Mr. HUNT, borrowing or rediscovering a fancy which has occurred on several occasions to Mr. GLADSTONE, amused himself with the ingenious quibble that the retention of half the Abyssinian twopence was an increase, and not a diminution, of the normal rate of duty. In 1856 Mr. GLADSTONE used the same sophism as the foundation for a violent attack on Sir GEORGE LEWIS; and in 1860, for the purpose of rendering his Budget more impressive, he affected to assume that all the taxes which required renewal had entirely disappeared from the fiscal system. It is as undeniable that fivepence is more than fourpence as that it is less than sixpence. Mr. LOWE'S proposed percentage may exceed the amount approved by Mr. HUNT, but last year's rate furnishes the most natural standard of comparison. It is certain that if the late Government had remained in office the Income-tax would not have been more largely reduced, even if Mr. HUNT had not for the third time resorted to the simplest and rudest mode of providing for the public wants. It might perhaps have been convenient to defer for another year the abolition of the Corn duty; but Mr. GLADSTONE had repeatedly dilated on the iniquitous nature of a tax which, as Mr. LOWE truly says, offends against all theories of political economy, although from its comparatively small amount it inflicts but a doubtful burden on the consumer. One agri-

cultural member expressed a fear that the repeal of the duty would encourage the importation of barley for malting, although almost all the opponents of the Government asserted that the price of grain would be in no degree reduced. It is satisfactory to know that, if foreign barley is converted into malt in England, it will bear its share of the Malt duty, and that, as far as it is used, it will tend to cheapen the raw material of beer. The abolition of the last protective duty renders the commercial legislation of England thoroughly consistent; but a few hundreds of thousands added to the revenue might have compensated during one year more for the postponement of scientific completeness. The removal of the most oppressive taxes on locomotion, and perhaps of the duty on fire insurance, was far more urgent. It is generally necessary to judge a Budget as a whole, and to trust in some degree to the discretion of the Government. A moderately capable Chancellor of the Exchequer is likely to devise a better scheme than any amateur substitute which is likely to be devised in or out of Parliament.

More serious objections were offered to the plan of collecting the chief direct taxes in one sum at the beginning of the year. Mr. Lowe had no difficulty in showing that the acceleration of payment would be annually repeated, so that, until the end of all things, there will be no deficiency corresponding to the proposed advance. In other words, a half-year's extra taxes will be levied at the beginning of 1870, and the loss to the tax-payer will never be recouped. The payer of Income-tax will buy for twopence-halfpenny exemption from the payment of a penny; and the same proportion may be applied to some of the assessed taxes. It is highly desirable that the collection should be entrusted to public officers, and it may possibly appear that the system of licences is preferable to the old method of retrospective returns. On the other hand, payment in a lump at the time when all the world is at its poorest will not be willingly made or easily enforced. If the suggestion of one member could be adopted, by the substitution of February as the time of payment for January, the unhappy householder would have the benefit of a short breathing-time between his Christmas bills and his taxes. It is not easy to understand why a system of half-yearly licences should involve any extraordinary increase of expense. In general, both payers and receivers of money prefer half-yearly settlements, although in some benighted districts rent is customarily paid once only in twelvemonths. Even if the full payment is indispensable for the immediate purposes of the Budget, hopes might be held out of a more lenient arrangement in future years. Unless some unexpected demand should arise, there will be a substantial surplus in 1870, so that the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER will be rich enough to spare both the remaining Abyssinian penny of the Income-tax and half the amount to be realized by the prepayment of direct taxes. It was clearly shown in the debate that the convenience of tax-payers coincides with the interests of the Government, and that a distribution of payments would confer incidental advantages on commerce.

When it was urged that the proposed scheme would cause fluctuations in the rate of interest, Mr. Lowe replied, with characteristic indifference to popularity, that the money-market must take care of itself. A more cautious Minister would not unnecessarily express indifference to the grievances which he may unavoidably cause in the discharge of his duty. Chancellors of the Exchequer have generally found it convenient to be on good terms with the City, not forgetting that they have themselves often occasion to deal in money. If a clear advantage to the Treasury could be obtained at the cost of imposing some inconvenience on bankers and on borrowers of money, it would be proper to regard the public interest as paramount, but it could do no harm to express regret for any collateral annoyance which might arise. In the particular instance the Government will probably suffer more largely and more directly than any private capitalist from extreme and rapid alternations of scarcity and of abundance. During the interval it will be necessary to obtain advances, either in the form of Exchequer Bills or by overdrawing the balance at the Bank of England; and in either case there will be a charge for interest. From the beginning of the new year the Treasury will be suddenly and largely enriched, without the power of turning its funds to useful account, unless, as Mr. Lowe suggested, a war should opportunely break out at the moment when the till was overflowing. There would be at least an equivalent inconvenience if it were necessary to equip an army or a fleet in October; and when the war occurs, the produce of a year's direct taxes will meet but a small part of the inevitable demand. The unfortunate expedition to Abyssinia illustrates the expensiveness of modern

warfare, and the consequent necessity of paying for guns and soldiers by drawing upon capital. The destruction of THEODORE, though it was effected in three or four months, cost as much as a year of a great Continental war in the time of PITT. The argument was probably only an afterthought or a makeweight, and it is highly improbable that it influenced the decision of the Government, even if it had occurred, before the beginning of his speech, to Mr. Lowe's ingenious mind.

Criticisms of a Budget which provides for the repeal of taxation are uttered under visible penalties. Mr. Lowe constantly reminded his censors in the House that, if they could establish their objections, they must pay for their success by submitting for another year to the taxes which he offers to repeal. If the anticipated payments in January next are abandoned or postponed, the whole or part of the existing revenue must be retained, and there is always reason to fear that the interests of payers of Income-tax will be the first to be sacrificed. It will perhaps be judicious to accept Mr. Lowe's proposals, in the hope that he or his successor will, after the present year, mitigate the extreme pressure on the tax-payer. The autumnal impoverishment of the Treasury will not occur to its full extent on the present occasion, because the assessed taxes will be imposed and collected from April to the end of the year. It is only when the system of prepayment has once begun that the stream of income will cease to flow for the remainder of the year. It is fortunately impossible to anticipate the proceeds of the Customs and Excise, as duties cannot be recovered till the articles on which they accrue are required for consumption. The greater part of the revenue will still be received at different times of the year, and the Government may possibly succeed in adjusting with the Bank some plan for anticipating its receipts in the latter part of the year without serious loss. When Mr. Lowe's proposals are carefully studied, they will resolve themselves into a repeal of certain duties on commodities, effected at the expense of the payers of direct taxes by an addition for one year of fifty per cent. to their burdens. Sir ROBERT PEEL commenced a similar experiment on a large scale in 1842, and Mr. GLADSTONE in 1860 raised by an Income-tax the funds necessary to meet the cost of the French Treaty. Mr. Lowe's operations are more complicated and more obscure, especially as he includes in his scheme a reduction of the Income-tax; but prepayment of a tax, annually repeated, is an addition to the total amount, nor can Mr. Lowe himself explain how the account is to be rectified at the end of the world.

PEACE AND WAR AT THE TUILERIES.

IT would be an interesting employment for a person of a statistical turn of mind to reckon up the pacific assurances which have been put forward by or on behalf of the Emperor of the FRENCH during the last two years and a half. It has fallen to the lot of M. DE LAVALETTE to begin and close the series. The convenient absence of M. DE MOUSTIER gave him an opportunity of asserting, in his Circular of the 16th of September, 1866, that the aggrandizement of Prussia did but secure the independence of Germany, and that France was not concerned "to oppose or reject the work of assimilation " which " had then " just been accomplished." If Frenchmen felt any uneasiness in contemplating the changes wrought by the Seven Days' War, they might console themselves by the reflection that the satisfaction of the national sentiment of Germany would only make her a better neighbour than she had been under the old Confederation. The speech of Saturday last began in something the same strain. M. DE LAVALETTE warned the Corps Législatif not to expect that the political disturbance which Central Europe has lately undergone can possibly subside in a moment. Between the order of things which has disappeared, and the order of things which is eventually to replace it, a period of transition must be interposed. Such a period will naturally be marked by contradictory aspirations, conflicting interests, delicate situations, and acknowledged or unconscious regrets. These are the characteristics of German politics at this moment, and it is alike the duty and the wisdom of France not to aggravate matters by interference, unless that interference is necessitated by legitimate motives. About this time M. DE LAVALETTE may have become conscious that he had been fighting a creation of his own brain. Even the *Pays* has never gone the length of arguing that France ought to attack Germany without legitimate motives. Accordingly, the Minister now assumed a more precise and categorical tone. There is no prospect, he thinks, that these legitimate motives will be supplied by any action on the part of Germany. The Confederation of the North has created an organization for

itself. The States of the South have associated themselves to that movement as regards their national aspirations and general interests; as regards their sentiments of independence and their particular wants, they are separated from it. This double movement is going on freely and spontaneously. France claims no right to interfere with it, and, by consequence, she neither has done so nor intends to do so. Taken by itself, this declaration is highly significant. There is a meaning both in what it says and in what it does not say. M. DE LAVALETTE is careful to treat the possible accession of the Southern States to the Confederation of the North simply as a new development of the principle of nationality. He will not regard it as a matter in which Prussia either has or wishes to have any part. Whether this view of the case is the true one may fairly be doubted, but it is obviously the view which makes it easiest for the French Government to acquiesce in any further changes. If the EMPEROR can once resolve to leave the South free to work out its own future, and to shut his eyes to the extent to which this future may be determined by Count BISMARCK's agency, the probability of a war between France and Prussia is at once reduced to a minimum.

Those who wish to deduce this comfortable conclusion from M. DE LAVALETTE's speech had better not read it to the end. By one seemingly innocent addition he contrived, before he sat down, to unsay all that he had said. The attitude of France towards Germany will not change, unless this movement should depart from its legitimate ends and attack French rights. Nothing more was wanted to revive all the old uncertainties. What are the legitimate ends of the movement in Germany? What are the rights of France in relation to it? According to one story, the South German States are now animated by a desire for incorporation with the Northern Confederation; according to another, they are secretly bent upon maintaining their independence against Prussian aggression; according to a more probable theory than either, some sections of their people incline one way, and some another. Are both these objects legitimate from the French point of view, or would the definite adoption of the first-mentioned policy be regarded as an attack upon French rights? These are the questions which Europe has been asking for the last three years, and it is disappointing to find that M. DE LAVALETTE, after seeming to give a pacific answer, has in reality left public curiosity altogether unsatisfied. Taken as a whole, his speech amounts to nothing; and lest this fact should not be sufficiently patent, the MINISTER of WAR was ready two days later to supply a further qualification of his colleague's assurances. Marshal NIEL's chief anxiety was to make it evident that if France is disposed to keep the peace for the present, it is from no inability to break it the moment she feels so disposed. M. ERNEST PICARD had been unpatriotic enough to suggest that, if things were as peaceful as M. DE LAVALETTE says, the suppression of the six great military commands into which France is divided would be an appropriate piece of economy. The MINISTER of WAR was prepared with a conclusive argument in favour of their utility. Is it worth while, he asked, for the sake of saving 600,000 francs to destroy an organization which assigns to every *corps d'armée* a commander ready to take the field without a note of warning being given to the enemy? In eight days the whole French army can pass from a peace to a war footing. If the generals had to be specially selected whenever hostilities were determined on, the advantage of this completeness of organization would be lost, since the fact of their appointment would sufficiently betray what was in the wind. But by means of these permanent commands, six armies can take the field at a week's notice, without any additional preparation—a fact of some moment to the EMPEROR's neighbours.

The conclusion suggested by these two speeches seems to be that NAPOLEON III. has no present thought of abandoning that see-saw policy which he has pursued with consistent inconsistency ever since the battle of Sadowa. He will go on talking of peace to-day, and hinting at war to-morrow; he will employ one Minister to extinguish the dying sparks, and another to fan them into a flame. If a more precise inference than this is wanted, none seems to be attainable beyond the probability—we may now perhaps say the certainty—that the Government cry during the elections will all be in favour of peace. If anything is certain about the Emperor of the FRENCH, it is that he will not go to war except to escape what he regards as a still more serious evil. The result of the elections will show whether the need of choosing between these alternatives is more urgent than it has yet been. To all appearance the EMPEROR is really convinced, either that he has a good case with which to go to the country, or that his

hold upon the electors is firm enough to make it a matter of indifference whether he has a case or not. If this conviction turns out to be well founded, it is not unlikely that the return of a new Corps Législatif may usher in a pronouncedly pacific policy. The disappearance of domestic fears will take away the principal incentive to war on the part of the EMPEROR, while the completion of his new military arrangements will remove the temptation to those constant boasts which, though they may be only indulged in to conceal conscious weakness, do sometimes defeat their own purpose by the uncontrollable irritation they excite on the part of others. If, on the contrary, the elections should give increased strength to the Opposition, we may look for a continuance, in an even aggravated form, of all the uncertainty and self-contradiction which have been the leading characteristics of the French Foreign Office since the close of the Austro-Prussian war.

The Imperial letter on the approaching centenary of the birth of NAPOLEON I. is nothing more than an electioneering placard of a very superior sort. In the EMPEROR's opinion the name is still a power in the rural districts of France, and there are several minor advantages connected with the particular mode in which he proposes to invoke it. The new army law is not popular in the country, and the distribution of additional pensions among the survivors of the wars of the Empire may do some service, by bringing the prospect of a provision in old age to temper the dislike called forth by an increased conscription. Each of the 40,000 veterans who survive to profit by the EMPEROR's judicious bounty will be a sort of local apostle, in whose mouth the recollections of the first and the praises of the second NAPOLEON will be appropriately mingled. The opportunity of giving his own version of the history of the last century was perhaps not without its influence on the mind of the writer of the letter. That during all that time Europe has been a chaos, to which nothing but the grand figure of NAPOLEON I. has given shape and firmness; and that, but for him whom that figure "still guides and protects," Europe would be a chaos to-day, has always been a favourite doctrine with the present Sovereign of France. It now has the further merit of falling in with the lesson which he has been trying of late to instill into the French working-class, that the Empire is the only Government under which Democracy is possible, because it is the only Government which can unite order and liberty, and emancipate the artisan from the shopkeeper without provoking the reaction—hitherto so invariable—of the shopkeeper against the artisan. It is amusing to see the simple Bonapartism of BÉRANGER travestied in this fashion to meet the requirements of modern Socialism.

RAILWAY MANAGEMENT AND THE ABERGELE ACCIDENT.

LET us sing smaller things; let us go back to the old and hackneyed subjects. In the middle crash and turmoil of the Irish Church debate let us just waste a thought on the safety of our own poor life and limbs; and, in the teeth of the present interest aroused by Madame RACHEL and Mr. BENJAMIN HIGGS, let us recall certain events of last August. The Abergele calamity, which under the most frightful circumstances caused the death of thirty-one passengers and two railway servants, happened to one of the best appointed and popular trains of the day—the Irish Day Mail; and on one of the best lines, if not the very best, in the kingdom—the London and North-Western. The official Report of Colonel RICH, the Government Inspector, on this great accident, which has just been published, and which we propose to make the text of a slight homily, says that this particular "line is one of the best" "in this country, and that its general management and arrangements are as good, on the whole, as those of any of the other lines." The first and obvious reflection of course is, if these things are done in the green tree of the London and North-Western, what may we not expect in the dry tree of the London, Chatham, and Dover? What the Abergele catastrophe was it is superfluous to repeat; it is written in the sorrows and mourning of so many families that it would be cruel to recall these fatal memories. Who was responsible? Colonel RICH informs us that "the three men"—namely, two breaksmen and a station-master—"are seriously to blame," and their neglect has been the immediate cause of the accident—a fact which was on the face of the matter, and which is of no great consequence; but it is necessary to say something more when we find Colonel RICH adding to this statement the pregnant observation, that "men of that class cannot be expected to do their duties well if the Railway Companies do not give them the most convenient and best appliances, and do not look after them strictly and enforce

"their own regulations." And Colonel RICH goes on to prove in detail the truth of these implied charges against the railway management; that is to say, he transfers the real culpability from these wretched servants to the great Company itself, one of the best, if not the best, in the country.

In the first place, Colonel RICH shows that to construct and work a time-bill by which one goods train is despatched from a given station at 12.5, and another on the same line of rails at 12.15, while the mail train is to pass on the same line of rails at 12.34—even when, *ex hypothesi*, the two goods trains are supposed to be shunted on to a siding out of danger—is a very dangerous experiment indeed, even if all the appliances for this dodging are most perfect. What then must it be when it happens that the stations and sidings on which all this delicate manœuvring is to be performed, and on the perfect working of which the safety of hundreds of people hangs by a thread, are, as a matter of fact, "quite unfit in extent and means of safety for the work that appears usually to be done there"? What are we to think when we are also informed that these precious stations and sidings have never been inspected by a Government officer, or passed by the Board of Trade? Colonel RICH next condemns the London and North-Western Directors for a "very lax system of supervision," because they appear to have no travelling or stationary inspector to look after the guards, instruct them in their duties, and to see that they perform them." Further, Colonel RICH, with a sententious brevity which only adds to the cumulative force of his indictment, says that such dangerous combustibles as explosive paraffin-oil should be sent by special trains at special hours and under special guards, with special instructions, not, as in this Abergele case, by an ordinary goods train. Next, Colonel RICH objects to locking the doors of the carriages, and goes so far as to "submit that no doors should be locked." And, lastly, Colonel RICH delivers himself of a judgment which we venture to describe as by far the most important observation which has ever been brought out by these Government inquiries; and the full extent and terrible character of which leads to the very unpleasant suspicion that the whole so-called system of railway safeguards is a mere hollow sham and mockery and delusion. Colonel RICH fears—and he certainly will make a good many of us tremble by the expression of his fears—that our security rests on paper, and paper only; that the Companies know that all their instructions and rules and regulations are merely illusory, and that they have actually been constructed for the purpose of deception, and were never intended to work. But we must quote this formidable and terror-striking charge:—"I fear that it is really too true that the rules printed and issued by Railway Companies to their servants, and which are generally very good, are made principally with the object of being produced when accidents happen from the breach of them, and that the Companies systematically allow many of them to be broken daily, without taking the slightest notice of the disobedience." And he specifies instances in proof of this ugly charge—namely, that the regulation which led to this horrible Abergele catastrophe, about shunting within ten minutes of the arrival of a passenger-train, is, as Colonel RICH says, constantly broken. Again; the excellent regulation that when a train breaks down the guard shall go back with a danger-signal is seldom observed. Again; the rule as to pulling up outside the danger-signals when they are up, "is, I may say, never observed." And lastly, the rule against feeding the guards and servants is publicly disregarded, and the Companies know it to be disregarded. Nor is this any trifling matter, for much of the public safety depends on it. When guards are, as they are, regularly fed and regularly treated at the refreshment rooms, instead of attending to the organization and fittings of the train, they only look after their own interests—their shilling and their beer and brandy and water. "The consequence is, that the train starts behind time," and an accident, as by a grim irony it is called, is the result.

We venture to say that this is the most serious charge, preferred as it is by the gravest authority, which has yet been made against railway management, not against this or that line, but against the whole system; for it charges the whole thing with being one vast tissue of fraud and delusion. Parenthetically we may ask—and this is as good a point of the discussion as any other to hazard the question—What comes of all these Official Inquiries? The recognised form is this:—An accident occurs; a Government Inspector is sent down; he inquires and reports; Mr. Secretary of the Railway Department of the Board of Trade, who seems to be the politest of men, in the most affable way "transmits, for the early and careful consideration of the London and North-Western Company,

"the enclosed copy of Colonel RICH's Report," and in the most elegant language requests that the Secretary of the Railway Company "will as soon as possible forward to the Board of Trade any observations which the Directors may offer on the subject." And there, as far as we and the public know, the whole matter rests, and is absorbed into the great Nothing. Either the Directors treat Colonel RICH and the Board of Trade, and the whole of the Government inquiry, with superb and silent contempt, and never condescend to offer the observations so courteously invited; or—which possibly may be the case—their answer is suppressed. At any rate, in justice to the inculpated Companies, if they ever do condescend to answer such charges as these, their defence should be not only made public, but should be printed with the same official document which contains the charge. As the thing stands, it seems that the London and North-Western Company suffers judgment to go by default. The Directors prudently hold their official tongues, let Colonel RICH have his say, and trust to the whole thing blowing over. Or it may be, now that Mr. BRIGHT is at the Board of Trade, the Directors, bearing in mind his emphatic observation that the complaints against railways are mostly moonshine, may not unreasonably reckon on a friend at Court, and may rely on the sympathies of the President as against the judicial impartiality of the Inspectors of the Board of Trade. But to recur to the main argument. Is it true—can it be true—that the rules printed and issued by the Companies to their servants "are made principally with the object of being produced when accidents happen," and are never meant to be, and never thought to be, carried out? Is it true that the Companies connive at, and therefore justify, this systematic, habitual, and constant violation of their instructions? If it is not so, where is the Company's reply and defence? The charge is about the most serious that could be preferred. It amounts to one of flagrant and conscious dishonesty against the Railway Companies. Colonel RICH distinctly says that the rules and instructions are a mere imposture, concocted for a most unworthy purpose, and drawn up only to be disregarded and treated by all concerned as the hypocrisy which they are. Let us have more light. If the extant rules, instructions, and regulations are not the make-believe and illusion which Colonel RICH charges them with being, and if they really are meant to be carried out, but only accidentally are not carried out by the Companies, let the Companies show this. If what Colonel RICH says is true, let us have one of two things; either let us force the Companies to carry out and work their rules, or let them be withdrawn and abrogated as the shams and affronts to common sense which they are. We shall then know what we are about. We shall recognise the very solemn fact that, whenever we enter a railway carriage, we carry our lives in our hands, and that the Company has discharged itself of the liability of providing any security or safeguards for us—apart, that is, from what good luck may happen in defiance of the blundering and stupidity of under-paid and over-worked servants, whose chief interest is, by cajolement or otherwise, to extract "tips" from the passengers instead of attending to the general safety of the train.

LIFE-PEERAGES.

LORD GRANVILLE was perhaps scarcely justified in stating, during the short debate on Life-Peerages, that his party generally regretted the failure of the WENSLEYDALE experiment. The expediency of creating a new class of peers would, even if it had been universally admitted, have afforded no sufficient reason for allowing a Minister to effect a great constitutional change by the sole authority of the Crown. If the legal objections to the admission of Lord WENSLEYDALE had not been sustained by the House of Lords, the revival of a supposed prerogative, which had, if it ever existed, become obsolete, would have been as unconstitutional as the issue, by the same authority, of a writ to an unrepresented borough. Lord CRANWORTH, who pressed the measure on with singular obstinacy, seemed never to understand that his doubtful precedents could not have satisfied a statesman, even if Lord LYNDHURST had not demolished the arguments which he advanced as a lawyer. Many votes were probably given with exclusive reference to the question whether life-peerages would be useful, but the preliminary inquiry into the exercise of prerogative involved still graver consequences. It was admitted on all sides that Lord WENSLEYDALE had, by his patent, become a baron with all the precedence and dignity attached to his rank. The opponents of his claim to sit in the House of Lords maintained only that a new or disused

side-door into Parliament should not be opened at the discretion of the Minister of the day. It is as proper now as it was in former times, to maintain with jealous vigilance the right of Parliament to control legislation. The checks which were originally imposed on Royal ambition or caprice have not ceased to be applicable, although the Crown means the Cabinet, and the Cabinet means the party which may for the time be dominant. If additional objections to Lord GRANVILLE's favourite measure had been needed, it might have been urged that the innovation necessarily implied the absence of any limitations. Lord WENSLEYDALE was a learned lawyer of unblemished character and competent fortune, but the power which made him a nondescript peer might have bestowed the same promotion on dozens of political adventurers. The tradition which tacitly restricts the choice of the Crown in the creation of hereditary peerages would have been less uniformly respected in the disposal of a new-fangled dignity. On every ground the House of Lords was bound to resist the intrusion, if possible; and Lord LYNCHURST deserved gratitude, as well as admiration, for the great intellectual effort by which he defeated the Government.

Lord RUSSELL, who had himself made Lord WENSLEYDALE a peer for life, judiciously abstained, on moving the first reading of his Bill, from any expression of censure or regret in consequence of the refusal of the House of Lords to admit his nominee to a seat. His proposal was consequently considered with reference to its merits, and it seemed to be favourably received. It is not improbable that many peers may feel repugnance to a change which undoubtedly tends to impair the sanctity of their caste, but the more enlightened members of the body will be unwilling to prefer selfish objections; and dissentients may console themselves by the hope of treating their non-hereditary colleagues with the same affable condescension which they have long exercised to bishops. It will, unfortunately, not be possible to dress up Lord RUSSELL's peers in an absurd costume, to make them sit on a separate bench, or to teach them that they must neither speak nor vote on ordinary political questions; but the stupidest aristocracy is always astute in devising methods of rebuking unwelcome aspirants to equality. Of the two principal advocates of the introduction of life-peers, Lord RUSSELL perhaps took the more practical view, while Lord SALISBURY's reasons were characteristic and original. Lord RUSSELL, while he desired to increase in some departments the efficiency of the House of Lords, directed his chief attention to the claims and interests of the class from which the new peers would be selected. It is perfectly true that many able and experienced men regret their inability to find a dignified and useful occupation at the close of a busy career. Some valuable experience is lost to the public service through the difficulty of obtaining a seat in the House of Commons, or perhaps through unwillingness to engage in political contests. Diplomats, soldiers, judges, and old Indians are frequently discontented with the dullness which ensues on the termination of an active life; and, unless they possess large fortunes as well as considerable eminence, they can scarcely hope at present for elevation to the House of Lords. For such persons, and more especially for politicians out of work, Lord RUSSELL feels a generous sympathy; and he readily persuaded himself that, while he gratified a laudable ambition, he would at the same time introduce a new and serviceable element into the House of Lords. He is perfectly right in limiting the proposed number of life-peers, not only because the Minister of the day ought to be prevented from swamping the House, but also because the new rank would, like the Order of the Bath, be vulgarized by indiscriminate promotions. Since it has become customary to raise every general who lives past eighty to the rank of a field-marshal, it seems impossible to trust any honour below a dukedom to the protection of the Crown. Four life-peerages in a year will not admit of lavish extravagance in distribution; and when the whole number of twenty-eight is filled up, the annual vacancies will be less numerous, especially as some of the new peers will be old lawyers. If the Bill is passed, and the full number of creations made, it will be difficult to avoid an admixture of mediocrity. The qualifications which Lord RUSSELL suggests are not unreasonable in themselves, and, if necessary, they may easily be modified; but the most accurate memory will not have retained the names of twenty-eight commoners who have during the last seven years been conspicuously eminent in the army, the navy, the law, the colonies, and the Indian service. A considerable proportion of the appointments would be given, like some modern peerages, on the formation of every new Cabinet, to partisans for whom it was impracticable or undesirable to find room in office. Several unoccupied supporters of the present Government possess the

qualification of having sat ten years in the House of Commons.

Lord SALISBURY, consistently with the wish which he has often expressed or implied, hopes to increase, by the creation of life-peers, the political efficiency of the House of Lords. As he justly holds, the House has at present a representative character which might, in his opinion, be made more comprehensive if it were composed less exclusively of landed proprietors. Accordingly, Lord SALISBURY would add to Lord RUSSELL's categories a more general qualification; or rather, he would abandon all restrictions on the discretion of the Crown. It might perhaps be advantageous, if it were practicable, to bring the House of Lords into closer relations than at present with trade and industry; but life-peerages are not the most obvious method of attaining the desired object. Professional or political eminence often leaves a man poor, but wealth is the unfailing index of commercial success. There is nothing to prevent the Crown from raising a great merchant or manufacturer to the peerage, as he has abundant means of providing for his successors; but, unluckily for Lord SALISBURY's purpose, a retired capitalist almost always buys land, and subsides into the same class with the great body of the peers. The House of Lords is representative of property, of station, and, above all, of social position. Lord RUSSELL's plan might perhaps introduce or strengthen the element of personal distinction, if experience showed that the life-peers would blend naturally and harmoniously with their hereditary colleagues. As a separate section, not associating on equal terms with the other members of the House, the new peers would occupy, perhaps with mischievous results, an uncomfortable and anomalous position. Eminence in science, in literature, and in art, though it deserves all respect, is seldom attended by the possession of a large fortune. If, however, Lord RUSSELL's Bill is passed, either in the present Session or at a future time, Lord SALISBURY's objection to purely intellectual qualifications will scarcely prevail.

When the principle of the change has been adopted, there will be room for ingenuity in the adjustment of the details. It may be assumed that, in ordinary cases, the dignity will be confined to the lowest rank of the peerage, and that there will at least be no such shock to popular associations as a life-duke. The wife of a life-peer will naturally share his elevation, but no conventional titles of honour will be projected on the children. The daughter of a life-earl, if such a rank were to exist, must be content with the absence of a courtesy title, unless she were favoured at the expense of her eldest brother, who must necessarily be a commoner during his father's lifetime, as he would have no claim to rank after his death. It will be extremely easy to settle such trivial questions, with no more inconvenient result than the open recognition of an unavoidable distinction. The new addition to the social fabric may perhaps be useful, and even ornamental, but every part of its construction will indicate that it was not included in the original design. The peerage grew up on principles which had little connexion with virtue or genius, although the highest reward of merit and success in England has consisted in admission into the ranks of the titled aristocracy. The Bill will probably either be withdrawn during the present Session, or be transferred to the conduct of the Government. It was perhaps more convenient that the feeling of the House of Lords should be tested by a peer no longer holding an official position; but, if Lord SALISBURY has expressed the opinion of the majority, a considerable change in the Constitution ought to be adopted on the proposal of a responsible Minister.

MR. DICKENS AT LIVERPOOL.

MR. DICKENS has been entertained at a "Farewell Banquet" at Liverpool. What it is to which Mr. DICKENS has bidden farewell—whether to Liverpool, or to writing stories, or to reciting his compositions in public—is not so clear, and the obscurity is increased by the experience which we have had of the irresolute character of valedictions, as in the case of him who

Now fitted the halter, now traversed the cart,
And often took leave, but was loth to depart.

The affair was a very splendid one. "In the centre of the guests' table was a silver-gilt fountain, sent by Mr. ROGERSON, which dispensed refreshing streams of rose-water during the evening;" and the fountain accounts for much of the character of the stream of eloquence poured out. The whole thing, speakers alike and speeches, may be said to have been drenched with rose-water. We are not so cynical as to object to this. When Mr. DICKENS and Mr. TROLLOPE, Mr. HEPPORTH DIXON and

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Mr. G. A. SALA, Mr. ANDREW HALLIDAY and Mr. PALGRAVE SIMPSON, all literary gentlemen, and Lord DUFFERIN and Lord HOUGHTON, literary peers, meet to exchange mutual admiration and mutual compliments, we all know what we have to expect, and what sort of literature it is which they represent, and therefore dignify and glorify. Mr. DICKENS amply deserves such incense as the Liverpool banqueters burned in his honour last Saturday evening at St. George's Hall. The creator of PICKWICK, SAM WELLER, and Mrs. GAMP is a humourist of the very first class, and the author of CHUZZLEWIT shows the possession of powers which we think might have placed him high among the writers of serious fiction. Let these merits be acknowledged, and while we are not prepared to say that Mr. DICKENS's style of composition, with its laboured and finical word-painting, is to be ranked high among artistic work, and while we have the strongest objection in point of taste to much of his details, and even though we think his paths often false, we cheerfully accord him his place among English writers. Mr. DICKENS's farewell reminds us how much we should have lost had he retired years ago; and had his career been cut short we might well have applied to him JOHNSON's expression of regret in GARRICK's case, that the stroke of death had eclipsed the gaiety of nations and impoverished the public stock of harmless pleasure. If there is a ridiculous element in the Liverpool festivities Mr. DICKENS is hardly responsible for it. He, as an actor, knows that he must play up or play down to his audience; and it is not in human, certainly not in what in these days is called literary, nature, to be bedaubed with melted butter and to retain, or even to affect, dignity. The ridiculous element of which we have hinted the existence is the implied assumption that what is called literature is comprised in, begins and ends with, such compositions as those which were represented at Liverpool. Lord HOUGHTON is an elegant poet, and Lord DUFFERIN has, we believe, written some respectable trifles; but we lay the two peers out of the question. They supplied the ornaments of the occasion; but the literature present, of which Mr. DICKENS is the acknowledged head, is after all but a very small component in the great stock of human knowledge. Two successful novelists, and as many writers of coruscant miscellanies and magazine articles, a farce-writer occasionally successful, and a foreign sketcher of our social habits, belong to literature in that sense in which Mr. HALLIDAY is a man of letters; but they neither exhaust literature nor represent literature. At public dinners one generally finds the absurd toast of Literature "responded to" by gentlemen of the true DICKENS type; and it is therefore no wonder that these gentlemen have got to think that the current English literature of the age means nothing higher nor better than Mr. TROLLOPE's parsons and Mr. DICKENS's drolls. Small blame to him, but great blame to us, when we so think of the true dignity of literature; and when, as seems to have been the case at Liverpool, it was generally felt by the literary banqueters that Mr. DICKENS ought to be a peer, or at least an American ambassador, the estimate, say, of such men as Lord MACAULAY and Mr. MOTLEY, which must be formed by those who thus judge Mr. DICKENS's writings, is almost a serious matter, if anything serious can be connected with these self-adulatory amenities. When BAVIUS and MÆVIUS met to present each other with testimonials and encomiastic speeches, LUCRETIVUS and VIRGIL and CICERO and TACITUS, had they happened to be the contemporaries of the DICKENS and TROLLOPE of the period, could scarcely have vindicated their sovereign place in the hierarchy of Roman letters. With the Liverpool estimate of letters accepted, there is a chance of our forgetting that we have, or recently had, a HALLAM and a MILMAN and a GROTE, a THIRLWALL and a MEHVALE, a TENNYSON and a BROWNING, a DARWIN and an OWEN, and a NEWMAN and a MILL among us.

Earl RUSSELL's Bill for creating Life-Peerages was clearly present to the minds of the Liverpool people, and Lord HOUGHTON distinctly committed himself to the position that Mr. DICKENS would have been benefited by being a political man. Certainly, had Mr. DICKENS been thrown into the bracing element of active life, he would probably have never written the unreadable and utterly forgotten stories with a purpose with which he closed his series of novels; and if Lord HOUGHTON meant delicately to imply that, when Mr. DICKENS wrote about the Court of Chancery and Imprisonment for Debt in the shape of little green monthly pamphlets, he showed that he had not mastered the first elements of political knowledge, we should be disposed to agree with him. It may be quite true that Mr. DICKENS might have been all the better for being in Parliament, but the question is whether Parliament would have been all the better for Mr. DICKENS. We once knew

a young gentleman who volunteered to write in one of the quarterly reviews because his friends told him that his style was bad, and that perhaps practice would enable him some day to write. For this sort of reason we can see the advantage of a Lord NICKLEBY or a Baron BARCHESTER; but we get alarmed when we hear of life-peerages to be conferred on distinguished men of letters, and find Mr. DICKENS selected, at least by his own set of worshippers, for the first coronet, in which we presume the gray goose-quill and inkpot interchanged will supersede the six silver balls of an illiterate baronage. Not that we are quite prepared for the difficulty started, that Mr. DICKENS would suffer by being ennobled—a joke suggested doubtless by that fine irony which now and then distinguishes the *Times*, and which is so very fine that we are not quite sure which is which, in our contemporary's estimate of sense and nonsense, when it was with apparent seriousness said that CHARLES DICKENS would be to Lord DICKENS as WILLIAM PITT to Earl CHATHAM. But the jest of naming DICKENS and PITT in the same sentence is so good that we are ready to pardon the obscurity of the parallel. One thing certainly Mr. DICKENS might probably learn were he to be made a peer—which is what a peer is, a matter on which his views are somewhat hazy at present. He actually thinks that his own Lord FREDERICK VERISOPHT was a peer—in *Nicholas Nickleby* the character is spoken of sometimes as Lord VERISOPHT, and sometimes as Lord FREDERICK VERISOPHT, a plain proof that the author recognised no distinction between a peerage and a courtesy title; and in enumerating his ennobled friends he clearly takes the LORD CHIEF JUSTICE of England, and possibly the LORD MAYOR and the Lords of the Treasury, for genuine Lords. No doubt to Mr. DICKENS the Barons of the Exchequer are much the same thing as the Barons of England, and the Lords of Session are undistinguishable from those on the Roll of the Lyon King-at-Arms. But all this only leads up to what is the question; whether literature—that is, the literature which is represented by Mr. PALGRAVE SIMPSON, Mr. ANDREW HALLIDAY, and M. ESQUIROS—and statesmanship are convertible terms?

Mr. HEPWORTH DIXON said at least one thing at this dinner worth remembering, which was, that were it announced that the English WASHINGTON IRVING—by which we suppose Mr. DICKENS may be meant—was appointed Minister to the United States, people would say "It is a joke." At present then we are not generally prepared for exchanging Lord LYONS at Paris for the *Telegraph's* Paris Correspondent; and there is somehow, according to Mr. DIXON, a latent but general suspicion that Mr. DISRAELI would have been none the worse Minister if he had never written *Ixion in Heaven* or the *Woodruff Tale of Abrey*. The real fact is this, that among all our literary statesmen their literature has been rather a mistake than otherwise. Neither the *Nun of Arrouca* nor *Don Carlos* showed Earl RUSSELL's administrative capacities. Mr. GLADSTONE has only lived to find that his greatest literary work must be retracted and disavowed. Lord LYTON is a *littérateur* to the core, and therefore has entirely failed as a statesman. Lord BROUGHAM used to sign himself, with a pompous affectation, *homme de lettres*, but the speculator on porisms was thoroughly merged in the member for Yorkshire and the Chancellor. Lord DERBY, we suspect, would hardly attend the Literary Fund dinner as the translator of HOMER; and in Mr. MILL's Parliamentary career we have the strongest proof that a great writer may be a very indifferent and even mischievous senator. We do not propose to argue that the men of action and the men of thought must always be kept distinct; but the popular prejudice which attaches to the term *doctrinaire* expresses a truth which is not altogether onesided. The worst features of the great French Revolution are decidedly attributable to the school popularly known as that of the Encyclopædists. The lamentable revolution by which constitutional government in France was surprised out of existence was owing to a knot of small journalists, LAMARTINE and THIERS and GUIZOT certainly did not do much in the way of administrative ability. BUNSEN's diplomacy was a tissue of ambitious and conceited blunders. Most of the present French EMPEROR's mistakes may be reduced to the fact that he began life as an obscure writer of obscure reveries in politics, and that he has gone on dreaming and refining, and mystifying and puzzling himself, ever since; while on the other side we have such facts as WALPOLE and the PITTS, PEEL and PALMERSTON, whose names will occur in no future WALPOLE's *Noble and Distinguished Authors*, in addition to the terrible example of BACON, which goes at least some way in proving that a man whose real vocation is to instruct the world by his pen is out of his place in attempting to rule in Cabinets and Courts. We fear that we are slipping into the error

which we have pointed out, and that to talk about the career of BACON while we are speculating on Mr. DICKENS in either House of Parliament is rather absurd. However, on the main point our apprehensions are most likely premature. The real safeguard against titled *littérateurs* is to be found in the character of the craft. The irritable side of letters and the literary man came out in force at Liverpool, and in this is our safety. To make one literary lord would be to make a hundred literary enemies with the full command of the newspapers, magazines, and leading articles, which has to come to mean the beginning and end of literature. Lord HOUGHTON grumbled at Liverpool because Mr. DICKENS did not seem to do sufficient honour to the excellences of the British peerage; Mr. DICKENS, in reply, seems to have grumbled because Lord HOUGHTON was not aware that Mr. DICKENS really often had dined with a live lord. Mr. ANDREW HALLIDAY, playwright and *littérateur*, grumbled because the Drama—especially, we suppose, that edifying sort of drama which is now popular in London—was not distinctly toasted. From which we gather that one Lord DICKENS would settle the question for ever. To think of the state of the literary world with Baron DICKENS at St. Stephen's, and the editor of *Punch* and the contributors to the *Daily Telegraph* left out in the cold! A single literary lord would, happily for the country, begin and end the experiment of one of Earl RUSSELL's proposed classes of Life-Peers.

SECOND-BESTS.

THERE is a great difference among people in the degrees of perfection with which they expect to realize their ideals, quite apart from the comparative degrees of worth which belong to the ideals themselves. Some persons seem born with limp nerve and faint heart and a certain slipshodness of intelligence. Hopelessness taints them from the beginning of their lives. Their vision is so peculiar that distances invariably strike them with vastly exaggerated proportions, and their judgment of dimensions, wherever the power of the will and of human effort is involved, is incurably faulty. All tasks loom upon them as much bigger than they really are; they have a far keener eye for drawbacks than for helping circumstances, and they are usually rather glad of a decent plea for waxing faint and drawing back the hand from the plough. One of the central conditions of the universe to such dispositions is that only the second-best is within the reach of even the most strenuous of mortals. To strive for things in the degree superior to this is to play the Titan and to incur Titans' pains and penalties. If you are a curate, for example, it is wholesome not to hope or labour towards a bishopric, or anything loftier than a smallish living; if a barrister, then it is equally desirable that the sphere of ambition should be limited to the small prizes; if you write books, it is wholesome in this view to remember that the race of giants is dead, that the modern tide is too shallow to bear the great ships of learning as in old times, and that a work of moderate aim and lowly pretension is more likely to hit the mark, and tell upon the public mind, than a comprehensive and elaborate monument of research and thought of the highest quality. In a word, to this timorous humour no star within mortal ken is of the first magnitude, and the best attainable is the second-best. One extreme, here as in other things, implies or begets its contrary, and just as there are people who never seek to go higher than the second-best, so there are others at the reverse end of the scale who can never be brought to see that second-bests have a conspicuous and most serviceable function to perform in the great order of things. They insist that nothing is worth either possessing or pursuing, either keeping for yourself or seeking for others, which is not on the highest ideal level in its own particular order. This exaltation they carry into all subjects to which they bend their attention. In social matters, in politics, in novels, in intellectual production, over the whole field, they contend, with or without a formula, not only that whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well, but that if you cannot have the very best of a habit, an institution, an opinion, or a branch of knowledge, then you may just as well resign yourself to the worst, and plunge frankly into a void. As a rule they do not express this slightly destructive doctrine in its fullest and most intelligible form, but only leave it to be inferred from the general scope of their criticism of men and things. Considering that we are on every side surrounded by second-bests, that second-best is the normal law of society all round, there is more opportunity than enough of observing and studying such a temper in active operation.

There are two ways of pointing out that an institution, a type of character, a manner of handling a subject, is not so good as one could imagine it possible that it should be. You may dwell upon its defects and shortcomings in such a fashion as to show only a conviction that it is capable practically and actually of being made better, and a wish by criticism to further the bettering process. This is to treat a second-best as a sort of friend, warning, rebuking, half-menacing, but all for the good of the second-best, whether usage, institution, opinion, achievement, or whatever else it may be. Everything in the world is capable of improvement, and therefore everything in the world is either kept at perfection, if it has already reached that difficult point, or, if not, is brought nearer to it, by vigilant supervision and, if neces-

sary, by frank objugation. There are so many unfavourable influences steadily at work, of which the strong tendency of the natural man to relax effort is the most constant and the most patent, that the general downward inclination, of institutions towards inefficiency, of opinion towards error, of moral usages towards mere hollowness and hypocrisy, is ever in need of violent pressure the other way from everybody who has vision to detect flaws and falling away. The most useful form which this pressure can take probably consists in holding up the very best by the side of the second-best; but from this point of view it is well to let the lovers of the second-best see with some clearness that on the whole you are with them, if only they will move on, and do something to lessen the space between the thing they are defending in its present state and the same thing in its complete perfected state. Otherwise they may pardonably confound the correcting with the destroying critic, and the destroying critic they very naturally take to be their foe, not the less relentless for the insidiousness with which he veils his assault. Such a critic is he who insists on the best in his attacks on the second-best, not because he seeks the improvement of the latter, but because he craves its abolition and extirpation, and sees no better way of getting what he wants than by painting perfection in such over-bright colours that every sensible person will instantly perceive the hopelessness of ever reaching it, and so will be likely to conclude that he may just as well as not go in for some other system which does not even make any pretensions in the way of perfection, and will not be exposed to these unpleasantly detracting comparisons. It is quite possible in exhortation to exalt virtue to such tremendous and inaccessible heights as to drive men down into antinomianism by force of sheer reaction. And the malicious disparager of second-bests not seldom means to force people within influence of his talk into courses which, whether he knows it or not, are in truth even lower than third-best. For example, popular government in the present stage of public virtue and social training is avowedly a second-best; it is not the most perfectly working system that the imagination of man can by any means conceive. Those who would most unflinchingly defend it at all cost against any rival system would still admit that it very often creaks rustily on its hinges, makes hideous screechings and confusion, and produces its work full of blemishes and imperfections. All this is clear; and, if we compare with this spectacle, which we know, the ideal and charmingly coloured spectacle of the government by good despot which we do not know, an egregious discontent with our second-best is the result, and foolish folk long for the blessed destiny, in the shape of Guy Fawkes or otherwise, which might extinguish the British Parliament, and make room for Mr. Carlyle's heroic king, so that we might all live happy ever after, like people at the end of the third volume. Yet, in cool moments, every well-considering man is persuaded that, in the long run, the system of popular government works better than the inelastic and depressing system of personal government in a thousand ways which, in this country and in America, the national conceit makes it quite superfluous for any writer to insist upon. Free-trade, again, is a second-best. As Mr. Mill has said in a recent writing, "Free-trade is not upheld, by any one who knows human life, from any very lofty estimate of its worth, but because the evils of exclusive privilege are still greater, and, what is worse, more incorrigible." If there were an era of perfect virtue, then free competition would be incomparably and indisputably the best arrangement. Its evils arise from the fact that we do not live in such an era, nor one at all like it, and these evils constitute it a second-best; only, as Mr. Mill says, even in such a stage free competition works better than protection, and such defects as belong to it are more curable than the defects which belong to the opposing system. In literature and art there is room for the same mischievous contempt for second-bests. In this department, too, there is a right place for what falls short of the highest imaginable, although many a person achieves very cheaply a reputation for profound vision and critical power by simply proving, of this and that, that they are not the highest. Of course there are circumstances which justify such strongly negative exposition. The world is choke-full of charlatans whom people have absurdly taken at their own valuation, or at the valuation which the personal friends and followers of the pretender have chosen to set upon him. That these should be held up in their true relations to that which they feign to have reached, is plainly a work of the highest public duty. And it is wholesome that poets, historians, and novelists, who are really good second-bests, and whom all wise men would be sorry to be ungrateful to, should still be warned at moments when the fumes of the popular incense seem to have mounted to their heads that, after all, they are not quite as the gods. Yet let us not forget that, as the majority of men are not capable of appreciating or relishing the finest work of any kind, and as it is exceedingly desirable, notwithstanding this, that they should admire something or other of decent merit, and as the opportunity of this admiration gives them great pleasure, then the second-best author is certainly a benefactor in his way, and deserves, so long as he does not give himself unreasonable airs, to be allowed to flourish and make his money in peace.

It is a great lesson, which judicious people seldom fail to learn, not to expect too much from a world constituted like ours. Of course we live in very civilized times, and the march of progress is only a little short of being miraculous, but for all that the fastidious must expect to have rather a hard time of it. Methods are still uncommonly rough and ready. The loud tongue, the false issue, the coarse substitution of rhetoric and passion for logic

and reason, the reliance on prejudice and selfishness, all these still prevail with scarcely abated force, and to bring them to nought the defender of better things is sometimes compelled almost to condescend to like arts. To insist on standing aside until this gross tyranny of pretenders and bad logicians is overpast is to leave them to make a headway which it will be difficult or impossible to recover, until at any rate they have brought things so near to ruin as to be hardly capable of reparation at any cost. The man for whom the methods of his age are so much too bad that he disdains to meddle is oftener than not the creature of mixed vanity and idleness. The apostolic injunction not to be conformed to the world has a full meaning of its own, but this meaning can hardly be that we are to leave the world to go its own way, because, if all good men were to take it in this sense, we should find that the salt had lost its savour with a vengeance, and that the ways of the world would be, more than even in apostolic days, ways of perdition. Throughout history we find that in the region of active life, of political and social movement, the advance of society has been due mainly to men who knew exactly how to hold their own firmly and how much allowance to make to pretenders, knaves, and blockheads, and to the general folly of mankind. The stupid will often go with you a very long way, if you will only consent to go a very short way with them. It is undoubtedly a great pity that the stupid should even have thus much of their own will, but a prudent workman is content to do the best he can with his materials, and it is well not to trample too vehemently on other people, however superior a being you happen to be. To a sensible politician or socially minded person in any line, it must seem the most mischievous and retarding of all follies to quarrel with a course that is only second-best, when there is no better practically open, simply because you can conceive of such a better course as possibly existing if circumstances were only not what they actually happen to be.

WOMEN'S ORACLES.

IN days when men were much less cosmopolitan, and women much more shy and retiring, than they now are; when there were not nearly so many divisions and subdivisions in Church and State as at present, but the lieges and the faithful were all contained in two or three great parties separated from one another outwardly by plain characteristics and a tradition of hostile action, and inwardly by antagonistic principles and cherished hatred; before the whole body of the Tories had been "educated," and any stray Whigs had been enticed into "caves"; before divines had invented the method of non-naturally explaining their formularies, or statesmen had discovered the art of autobiographically interpreting their own inconvenient utterances; before, in short, there were any third horns, middle-ways, eclecticism, indifferentism, or other confusing complications in politics and polemics, it must have been much easier to form a rapid estimate of a person's character and opinions than it is at present. In those days the old Latin maxim "You may know him by his friends" must have been much more valuable than it is now. It was once considered by the profane world as good a master-key to the secrets of character as the dogma "You may know him by his fruits" is still considered by a portion of the religious world. But with our present fashion of kaleidoscopic public careers, and our general condition of permutations and combinations, no one would dream of judging a man's character and opinions, or prophesying his course of action, from the characters, opinions, and actions of his friends. Yet we are not even now without means of judging roughly, by certain external indications, of a person's character. One of the best rough and ready tests of anybody's opinions is, for example, the newspaper which he affects. Stay-at-home foreigners, as we have so often lately been told, form their opinion of Englishmen largely from reading the *Times*; and though, of course, it is not difficult to see that an estimate of the character and capacity of a whole nation which has been derived from the study of only one of its principal journals must necessarily be very imperfect and misleading, yet it may be questioned whether this method is not at least as good as that of the stay-at-home Englishman who derives his impressions at secondhand from some obsequious or prejudiced Foreign Correspondent. And, after all, is it safe to suppose that any journal of large circulation can really be a very inadequate representative of its readers? that the sentiments it expresses can really be alien to their character, or its information and arguments below the level of their intelligence? How many graduates of Oxford and Cambridge who regularly read the *Times* suspect the logic of a pompous leader? How many of the gentlemen with nicely discriminated and subtle titles, of the Second-Go Bachelors, the Masters of the First or Third Branch of the Arts, the Doubly-examined Doctors of Literature, whom the London University is supposed to be scattering profusely over the land, and wherewith our whole Philistine lump is to be leavened, are dissatisfied with the *Times'* treatment of any scientific, historical, or literary question? and how many more can give the reasons of their dissatisfaction? There might be worse tests of the opinions and intelligence of a large community than that implied in the maxim "You may know them by their newspapers." And if the test is of any value when applied to journals written for no particular class, but professing to represent a whole people, it is still more valuable in its application to those journals which profess to represent only one fraction of a community.

From the columns of the *Record* or the *Rock* we may gather no inadequate notion of the faiths or the fears that support or agitate the souls of religious spinsters, half-pay colonels, and their pet parsons in the coterie of Blackheath, Clifton, or Tunbridge Wells. From the leaders of the *Standard* we can form some conception of what the bucolical gentry and clergy consider to be convincing argument or crushing invective; just as from the style of the *Daily Telegraph* we may derive some notion of what the artisan and the shopkeeper believe to be fine rhetoric. There is no doubt that a very fair notion can be formed of the tastes, feelings, and culture of any Englishman by noticing what journal he affects. There are few peculiarities of the Englishman to which the maxim "Show me what he admires, and I will show you what he is" more aptly applies than to his newspaper.

If this same doctrine is true—and it is difficult to see why it should not be true—of those journals which are written especially for Englishwomen, the result is certainly surprising enough. To any person studying the leading Ladies' journals of the period it seems almost inconceivable that they should really represent any considerable number of Englishwomen in the middle and upper classes. Yet, if this is not the case, why and for whom do they exist? And, if it is the case, where could we find a richer store of materials for estimating the character of modern Englishwomen than in these sympathetic and oracular periodicals? The materials afforded by the *Daily Telegraph* or the *Record* for judging of the character of Englishmen sink into utter insignificance when compared with those which any leading "Ladies' newspaper" affords for judging of the character of its subscribers. Whether it is that, there being fewer ladies' than men's newspapers in existence, the ladies' newspapers are obliged to supply a greater quantity of information, and to study more differences of taste and varieties of requirement, or whether it is that women are more confiding and sympathetic towards their journals than men are, and require from them more sympathy and help in return, the fact is certain that there is no subject so important or so trivial that the fair subscriber shrinks from asking the counsel of the oracle upon it, or that the oracle fails to deliver a sympathetic and satisfying response. The mode in which these women's oracles are consulted, and give their replies, is peculiar. The Ladies' newspaper devotes a portion of each of its numbers to what is sometimes called "Our Drawing-room," and sometimes assumes the loftier title of "The Englishwoman's Conversazione"; which is, in fact, a kind of epistolary conversation or discussion carried on in the journal among its contributors. Notes and queries, questions and answers, sometimes of the briefest and sometimes of the most elaborate description, on topics grave and gay, trivial and important, are crowded together in the most confused but natural manner in these "Englishwomen's Conversaciones." Here, alongside of the anxious inquiry of a mother how she may best control a rebellious child, we find a daughter putting the momentous question whether at thirteen she is too young to begin wearing the chignon? On the same page we see ladies asking what is the editor's opinion of their handwriting; what is the best method of removing superfluous hair; where they can buy birches with good buds; what is the price of the Antephelic milk, and whether it will really clear a spotty complexion; how to treat broken or unbroken chilblains; how many days after a visit should a call be returned; where to find a sympathizing or even an obedient staymaker, mistress of her art; who was the prisoner of Gisors, and why he was imprisoned; what is the best way to clean grebe; whether it is best to wash one's dirty linen at home, and, if so, what amount of soap, soda, and starch should be used fortnightly for a family of two grown-up persons and three domestics; whether short walking costumes may be used for Church dress; how to make *Brunswick loaves*; how to prepare for an overland journey to India; and how to cure warts. To all these and many similar questions the oracle is expected to provide a reply; and how thoroughly well it does its business may be gathered from such a case as the following:—An unfortunate creature who is afflicted with unbecoming leanness, and who writes under the touching title of "Skeleton," asks the advice and help of the oracle in this heart-rending condition. Her general health is excellent. She sleeps and eats well. But she is quite unable to enjoy society, because she is so unfashionably thin. Wherever she goes she finds that fatter friends are preferred before her. And, in short, unless she can become stouter, life will not be worth having. What shall she do to get fat? The oracle replies:—"In answer to 'Skeleton's' inquiry how to become fat, I wish to inform her that milk taken before rising in the morning is the best thing. Half a pint, either warm or cold; if the former, a lump or two of sugar makes it better. If she lives in London, there is a kind of rich milk called 'babies' milk' sold on purpose for ladies and children to drink. She should eat plenty of butter and fat, and underdone meat. Cream is very good; also corn flour, semolina, arrowroot, &c. Good stout is very fattening; she should have two or three tumblers a day—one always the last thing at night. If not stout, a wine-glass or two of rum and water with sugar." Every reader's respect for these women's oracles must be raised after reading this reply. Whether their wisdom is or is not equal to that of the ancient oracles of Delphi and Dodona, their straightforwardness and honesty must at any rate be greater. An oracle which can unflinchingly give such a response as that, which can without any sign of emotion, and without leaving any loophole of ambiguity, tell its miserable client to drink a tumblerful of stout the last thing at night, and one of babies' milk the first thing in the

morning, must at least be far above the vulgar suspicion of corruption or of humbug. Whether the unhappy "Skeleton" has had the courage requisite for carrying out the orders of the oracle, we have no means of knowing. This reply was given last December; and if meantime "Skeleton" has been conscientiously and continuously cramming herself with babies' milk, underdone meat, corn flour, stout, and rum, every one must admit that by this time she deserves to be as sleek as Belteshazzar.

The *conversazione* portion of these Ladies' journals always resounds with the cries of contributors who appear to be suffering from a plethora of books concurrently with a famine of clothes. Scores of women write anxiously desiring to part with the great standard handbooks of Mangnall, Gleig, and Lindley Murray, in exchange for brooches or earrings, or offering "Select Passages from the Poems of Sir Walter Scott, handsomely bound," in return for fashionable articles of dress; and indeed the number of such offers would be very puzzling, did we not remember that there is always a stream of young ladies who have just "finished their education" and are about to be "introduced." These happy creatures will of course have no further use for books except such as the circulating library supplies, and the temptation to part with their manuals and their prizes in exchange for earrings and real sealskins is naturally irresistible. Who the people are that take the books and give the jewellery it is not so easy to understand. There does not appear to be any demand for such books, or indeed for any books whatever, among the contributors to the Ladies' journals, while there are always scores of contributors who want to get rid of books. It would be interesting to discover the ultimate destination of these school prizes and manuals; to trace the steps and the length of time that a French Dictionary or an Atlas takes in passing from the "finishing school" to the pork-shop; and to ascertain with precision who are the middle-men that go bearing jewels of gold and raiment to the "finished" young lady, and carrying back her books to the butlerman.

Perhaps, however, the most extraordinary feature in these *conversaciones* is the disquisitions on ethical and social subjects which are carried on among their contributors. It is not long since the *Saturday Review* called attention to a wonderful discussion on the subject of "Flogging Girls" which appeared in a well-known Ladies' magazine, and which has been succeeded in the same journal by an equally amazing discussion on the subject of Ladies' riding. The riding discussion proceeds in very much the same fashion as the flogging discussion did. There is the same freedom of treatment, the same liberal use of strong expressions, the same tendency to advocate extremes; and it would seem, too, that the theory of horsemanship which finds most favour with the contributors to this journal is not very widely different from their favourite theory of domestic discipline. To give zest to the discussion, a knowing male assessor is called in, who plays a part similar to that assigned to "Paterfamilias," or the "Old King's Scholar, and Ex-Officio Birchmaker," in the girl-flogging *conversazione*, and who contributes some of the more bloodthirsty opinions to the disquisition. This amiable gentleman, who signs himself "Eperon," and who says that he has had much experience as rough-riding to a cavalry regiment, and as "ladies' instructor in riding," after describing the savage course of treatment through which he puts his colts in order to make them "perfect ladies' horses," with "a fine shape and carriage of the neck," and after dilating on the advantages of tight-lacing to a lady-riding, lays down the following choice rules for what he calls "female horsemanship":—

I always use the most severe bits for ladies, and very tightly curbed, as otherwise a lady's strength would be quite unequal to stop a frightened or skittish horse. Many of my best pupils now delight in riding vicious or badly trained horses, and always get more out of them than men do. After a lady feels confidence in her horse I never have occasion to tell her to use her spur. She is only too glad to do so, and as she becomes a perfect horsewoman, she detests a perfect horse. Give a good horsewoman a badly broken horse if you would please her. Every mistake is punished with the utmost severity, and the spur, being so easily used and so effective, is always first called upon. To make a horse show to advantage the bit must be long in the bars, and the curb chain fastened as tightly as possible. The lady must then ride entirely upon the bit reins, which must be held tightly, care being taken to keep the spur to him to prevent his rearing, &c. &c.

If this correspondence is genuine, it appears that, as there is a party among the fair subscribers to this journal which is in favour of flogging grown-up girls, so there is also a party which is in favour of savage and brutal treatment of the horse. How numerous this party may be it is impossible to say. How many English lady-riders have the hard hearts, or covet the vulgar horsebreaking accomplishments, of "Eperon's" "best pupils," only the editor can tell who presides over the *conversazione* in which such sentiments are allowed to pass unchallenged. Admirers of women may hope that there are few ladies in England who would, and lovers of the horse may trust that there are few who can, conduct themselves in the manner described and advocated by "Eperon." And indeed, after perusing such effusions as these, the charitable reader will perhaps find it best to conclude that Ladies' journals form an exception to the maxim "You may know them by their newspapers," and that they exist rather to warn or to disgust, than to represent the real feelings, tastes, and interests of Englishwomen.

FRANCE AND THE ECUMENICAL COUNCIL.

THE Parisian Correspondent of the *Times* has lately been discoursing on the relations of French society to the approaching Council in a tone which contrasts conspicuously with the contempt for common sense and common fact that usually characterizes the religious utterances of the leading journal. At the same time we suspect that his view, though it contains elements of truth, is a superficial one. The general upshot of what he says comes to this—that French Catholics are prepared to receive, if not with enthusiasm, at least with unquestioning acquiescence, any number or kind of spiritual dogmas that may be imposed upon them, not excepting the crowning paradox of Ultramontanism, Papal infallibility; but that they will meet with open opposition or silent contempt, as the case may be, any attempt to dictate to them on the mixed questions where religion touches on the modern principles of civil or social life. Now it seems obvious to reply to this that, whatever else they may be, the French are a logical people, and it requires no very severe intellectual effort to perceive that acceptance of Papal infallibility involves, among other things, acceptance, *ex animo*, of all the propositions of the last Encyclical, which includes, to go no further, a most emphatic consecration of the principles of political absolutism, of religious persecution, and of the divine right of the Pope's temporal sovereignty. However, we are not concerned here with the accuracy of the *Times*' Correspondent, but with the very interesting subject to which he has adverted—the probable bearings of the promised Ecumenical Council on the state of religious thought in France. There are obvious reasons why this cannot be considered a matter of merely national importance. France has long arrogated to herself the title of Eldest Daughter of the Church, and if it does not now belong to her in quite the same sense as under the *ancien régime*, there never was a period when the French nation stood more completely at the head of Latin civilization, and therefore of the Latin Church. The Catholic Church of France is a microcosm of the Catholic Church throughout the world, and what has been said of the former by a keen observer, who is a Frenchman though not a Roman Catholic, is equally true of the latter; "it contains within itself, not merely two parties, but two spirits, two souls." In attempting to gauge the effects of the present policy of the Papal Court on France we are gauging its effects on the whole Roman Catholic Church. And "the Church of France," to continue our quotation, "is the principal support of Ultramontanism, and at the same time its most formidable foe." These are the words of M. Pressensé, in a very remarkable article on "France and the Ecumenical Council" in the current number of the *British Quarterly*, to which we propose to draw the attention of our readers. We shall not of course hold ourselves bound, in what we have to say, to the writer's opinions, or even to his estimate of facts, though in this latter he appears to us—with one exception, to be noted later on—to be quite exceptionally accurate in his information. But we shall make full use of the very valuable summary of the antecedents and present position of French Catholicism which he has put before us.

To appreciate the present state of parties in the French Church, and its attitude towards the Papacy, it is necessary to go back some eighty years and take a rapid review of her history since the first Revolution. The Gallican Church under the old monarchy possessed, to use the words of the reviewer, "all the characteristics and all the disadvantages of a State religion. It was servile to the throne and persecuting to religious minorities." This is true, but a writer who was no less of a Liberal than M. Pressensé, though he was also a sincere Roman Catholic, has dwelt in glowing language, of which we had occasion very recently to remind our readers, on the brighter side of the picture to which his extreme and somewhat narrow antipathy to all established and endowed Churches hardly allows him to do justice. De Tocqueville thinks the Gallican Church had never been, on the whole, in a more satisfactory condition than when the Revolution crushed it. There was, no doubt, too much of subservience to the Royal power; but, on the other hand, there was a breadth and enlightenment of view, a healthy spirit of national loyalty and independence, and the endowments of the clergy, immense as they were, acted as a serviceable counterpoise to the caste-like and anti-national tendencies of an unrecognised, and especially a celibate, priesthood. M. Pressensé considers that, if the Port Royalists had been fostered instead of being persecuted, they would probably have modified their extreme doctrines of grace, and that the infusion of a new and holier spirit would have materially affected the subsequent history of the French Church. This may well be; but the Port Royalists were ejected more rudely than the Wesleyans from the Church of England, and Jesuit influence triumphed for the time, though it could only hold its own by wearing the mask of Gallicanism. The old Church fell—whether suffering most for its virtues or its vices we need not here discuss—and the Church of the Concordat was, to all intents and purposes, a new creation of the Emperor and the Pope. Napoleon aspired to restore the old Empire of Charlemagne, and nothing could be more to his purpose than an infallible and irresponsible Pontiff, who should also be his own head chaplain. This, as we know now from his words as well as from his acts, was the secret of his whole ecclesiastical policy. An unscrupulous despot who, if his own statements in the intimacy of familiar conversation may be trusted, was no believer in Christ, was the cynical but deliberate founder of modern Ultramontanism.

He forced upon the terrified but not unwilling Pontiff whom he had alternately outraged with the chicanery of a vulgar attorney and the brutal violence of a Corsican bandit, a spiritual autocracy at which the proudest of his predecessors had never even dared to aim. But Napoleon contributed as much indirectly as directly to the advance of French Ultramontanism. His insolent contempt for the religion he had so haughtily reinstated alienated the sympathies both of the clergy and their flocks, and, finding no national centre for their loyalty, they turned inevitably towards Rome. The whole influence of the restored Jesuits, who had no longer any motive for concealing their colours, tended in the same direction. From 1815 to 1830 there was a brief interval of suspense, as the Bourbons did what little they could to revive the old traditions of the Gallican Church. With the Revolution of July Ultramontanism finally triumphed. The suicidal policy of Louis Philippe and Guizot arrayed all that was most earnest and religious in French Catholicism on the side of the extreme Romanizers. From that time three parties have been gradually forming themselves—that of absolute Ultramontanism, of liberal Ultramontanism, and of reorganized Gallicanism aiming at moderate reformation in the Church, but rejecting the old monarchical traditions of the earlier Gallicanism, and embracing heartily the principles of civil freedom. Each of these parties had, and still has, its representative men. Joseph de Maistre may be considered the founder of the first, of which the chief surviving prophet is Louis Veuillot, who has probably never had an equal in the virulence, the coarseness, and the recklessness of his theological vituperation. The reviewer justly remarks that, when the history of contemporary Atheism shall be written, Veuillot must come in for much of the blame, "for if anything could inspire a horror of religion or extenuate the blasphemies of the time, it may be found in the career of this furious zealot." The hideous imprecations on Passaglia which he published in a work entitled *Le Parfum de Rome* may be in the recollection of some of our readers. The most depraved imagination of an inquisitor or a fiend could hardly have rivalled the horribly minute ingenuity of the tortures invoked on the head of the man who dared to disbelieve the Pope's temporal power. Yet this man is the darling of his party, and his organ the *Univers*, when denounced by some of the bishops—the *Record* would be milk and water to it—received the solemn approval of the Vatican. Lamennais, who for a time had followed De Maistre, became the leader of the second or Liberal Ultramontane party, till the emphatic condemnation pronounced by his infallible oracle on his most cherished convictions as to the sacred rights of conscience gradually alienated him from all belief in Christianity. He went to Rome in unhesitating faith—for to him the voice of the Pope was as the voice of God—but he came away bitterly complaining that "at Rome they would, if they could, sell everything; they would sell the Father, and they would sell the Son, and they would sell the Holy Ghost." Dupanloup, the eloquent Bishop of Orleans—so far as we can classify such a very uncertain, not to say inconsistent, writer—may perhaps be best reckoned among the present leaders of this party. The brightest ornament of the third party, of reorganized Gallicanism, was Lacordaire; and his friend Montalembert, in his later and better moods—for he, like Dupanloup, is not always consistent with himself—also belongs to it. The Archbishops of Paris for many years past must be reckoned among its most eminent representatives. One of them, Mgr. Affré, it will be remembered, was shot down on the barricades in 1848, while ministering to the wounded soldiers, and his successor, Mgr. Sibour, was stabbed by a suspended priest in church just as he was about to commence a suit against the *Univers* for its libellous attacks. Two distinguished writers, the Prince Albert de Broglie and the late Frederick Ozanam, must also be named among the ornaments of the Liberal Catholic party, which moreover numbers in its ranks Bishop Maret and Father Gratry, the two most learned theologians of the modern French Church. M. Huet, who formerly belonged to it, was driven from Christianity by the Encyclical of Pius IX., as Lamennais had been by the Encyclical of Gregory XVI., and as some of the ablest of the English converts have been whose names will readily occur to our readers. For a further account of the distinguished personages referred to, and of others who have exercised a critical influence on the religious thought of France, we must refer to the paper in the *British Quarterly* already mentioned.

The Imperial régime has perhaps done something to foster the growth of a moderate and national temper among the French clergy. Its Church policy has been more friendly than that of Guizot, and the Emperor has usually shown himself anxious to recognise the claims of men of learning and intellect, like the present Archbishop of Paris, who are opposed to extreme views. Three events have occurred, however, since 1851, which have in different ways seriously complicated the approaching crisis of Catholicism. These are the promulgation of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception in 1854, the Italian Revolution, and the Encyclical. The importance of the first lies not so much in the particular doctrine proclaimed, which had no doubt been very generally believed before in the Roman Catholic Church, as in the Pope's claim to define it as matter of faith on his own *ipse dixit*. And there can be no doubt that this was the real ground of the urgency of the Jesuit Camarilla to get the doctrine promulgated, and of the Pontiff's compliance with their desire. For Pius IX. is well known, strange as it may seem, to be a firm believer in his own infallibility. The Italian Revolution has brought into prominence the rights of the temporal power of the Pope, and with it the whole subject of political liberalism. For it is clear on the

face of it that no one can maintain absolutism as a sacred principle at Rome who is an honest advocate of liberal principles elsewhere. It is not wonderful, therefore, to find M. de l'Ariège, a liberal Catholic, insisting that every conquest of liberty will be precarious, every solution incomplete, so long as the question is not radically settled at Rome by the abolition of the temporal Papacy. Hardly less startling to the devotees of Rome was Montalembert's bold proclamation of unreserved liberty of conscience at the Catholic Congress of Malines in 1863. The Mortara case was still fresh in people's minds when he stood forward before a large assemblage of prelates and clergy, including Cardinal Wiseman, as well as laymen, to assert broadly and unequivocally his "inexpressible horror" at every kind of religious persecution. "The faggots lighted by the hands of Catholics," he exclaimed, "do not excite less horror than the scaffolds on which Protestants have immolated so many martyrs, and I quiver with pain as I feel on my own lips the gag that has been forced into the mouth of those who preached their faith with pure consciences. The Spanish Inquisition saying to the heretic, 'The truth or death,' is as odious to me as the French Terrorist saying to my grandfather, 'Liberty, fraternity, or death.' The human conscience has a right to demand that these hideous alternatives shall no longer be imposed upon it." These words were spoken in August, 1863. In December, 1864, appeared the Encyclical and Syllabus of condemned errors. Among these errors are the following:—"That the Church has no right to use compulsion and temporal power; that it is useless in our time to regard the Catholic religion as the only State religion, to the exclusion of every other worship; that the law is right which in some Catholic countries allows foreign residents the enjoyment of their own worship; that the Pope might and ought to put himself in accord with progress, liberalism, and modern civilization." All these principles are solemnly condemned, and their opposites are to be accepted—as Dr. Manning is never tired of reminding those who choose to listen to him—as intellectual laws to rule the thoughts of all good Catholics. The Bishop of Orleans, as is well known, went down on his knees to the Pope to entreat him not to publish the Encyclical, but, when it appeared, he explained and defended it in an elaborate Pastoral compared to which Tract 90 is simplicity itself. It remains to inquire, in view of these facts, what will be the attitude of the French Church towards the intended Council of the Vatican. The writer we have so often referred to speaks of it as "a Jesuit plot." We believe he is mistaken, and that the original suggestion emanated from the opposite party; but there can be no doubt that the Jesuits will leave no stone unturned to use it, now it is decided upon, for their own purposes. They are said to have abandoned the idea of extorting from the assembled Fathers an assertion of Papal infallibility, in consequence of the determined attitude of the French Bishops. But they are pretty sure to use all their influence to extort from them a solemn approval of the Syllabus of condemned errors. There can be no doubt that, if they succeed, they will bring about a "fearful crisis, which will alienate the minds of men from the Gospel, and indeed from the very idea of God." For the present we content ourselves with quoting M. Pressense's concluding prediction that if, instead of Catholicism being itself reformed, "liberal Catholicism is crushed and extirpated, there will ere long remain nothing of the great Roman Church but a lifeless corpse ready to vanish away." It is well to remember that the religious future of some 150,000,000 of Christians is seriously involved in the result.

COMPETITION IN THE CIVIL SERVICE.

THE motion which Mr. Fawcett proposed last week upon competitive examinations represented the extreme view of a principle which, within certain limitations, may probably be sound enough. The thirty gentlemen who voted in the affirmative represent the extreme wing who are prepared to apply it unflinchingly in season or out of season. There were of course many in the majority who would be ready to give it a fair trial, but who do not look upon unlimited competition for offices as the Alpha and Omega of political science in its bearing upon appointments. As there is a tendency in a certain small class to make an idol of competitive examination, and to represent all unbelievers as preferring promotion by corrupt practices to promotion by merit, it is worth while to notice briefly what are the necessary failings of the competitive principle.

We may begin by noticing the obvious *reductio ad absurdum* which follows from its indiscriminate application. If success in a competitive examination is really the best test of merit, it should be applicable in many cases where we all admit it to be ludicrous. We say nothing of appointing judges or bishops by examination, for even the hardest heart of the bitterest doctrinaire will admit that the torture is one which should be reserved for youth. But, in cases more nearly parallel to that of clerks in a public office, the principle is equally preposterous. No man outside a lunatic asylum would appoint his own servants by their success in examinations, or select a tutor for his children, or clerks to be his assistants in a lawyer's office or a commercial house, by such a test. The reason is obvious—namely, that a very little personal observation of a young man will tell us facts about his qualifications for the proposed duties which we cannot possibly discover from his answers to a written paper. The examination is at best a rough test of his possession of certain qualities, which

are after all not those of most importance for our purpose; it can tell us nothing about his honesty, about his tact, his good temper, or a thousand other merits which are of infinitely more weight than his power of writing out certain bits of information, and solving a few selected problems. Precisely the same principles apply to a public office. If we could assume—and we admit that it is a large assumption—that the authorities would take as much pains in selecting the best men for their work as a merchant or a lawyer would in selecting useful subordinates, personal discrimination would supply a test incomparably more delicate and searching than the rigid machinery of a competitive examination. In short, it is generally true that the best mode of appointment, in all cases where it can be obtained, is appointment by a qualified and impartial authority, who can of course apply from time to time such tests as he pleases. The apology for competitive examination is that, in many cases, we cannot depend upon such appointments; that the inferior offices are given away simply by private interest, and that the test of merit supplied by examination is better than no test at all, or than a system which leaves full swing to jobbery.

The supporters of the proposed change put forward, it is true, much higher claims than this. Admitting that examination can only test one kind of merit, it is asserted that, on the average, it will indicate the possession of other kinds also. The cleverest men are also the best, morally and physically; and, by securing one excellence, we shall, at the worst, have an equal chance of getting all others. If this were true, it would be safe to take men according to the height they could leap, or their measure round the chest; these would be simple and easy tests; and if the pleasant maxim be true, that all the virtues go together, we should secure all by securing any one. Without going quite so far as this, Mr. Fawcett tells us that the Cambridge triposes, although they test a man's ability only in one intellectual study, put the ablest men in the highest places with great accuracy. As a rule, the Senior Wrangler is a cleverer lad than the second, the second than the third, and so on to the bottom. But this, when we look into it, is a singularly modest claim, for probably the wit of man could hardly invent so perverse a scheme of examination as not to give some advantage to intellect. If, in place of mathematics, the chief subject of a University training were whist or the game of all-fours, we have not the least doubt that the cleverest men would, as a rule, be nearest the top. No ingenuity can lay out a race-course in which the cripples will generally beat the active men; and the whole merit claimed for the University of Cambridge is that they have not been so incomprehensibly absurd as to put the fools on a level with the men of genius. Even here, if it were necessary to go into the question, we should have to qualify the assertion materially. The examination test, we might urge, is very imperfect in many ways; it gives, for example, decided advantage to docility and powers of receiving knowledge ready-made as compared with vigour and originality of intellect. And, to come a little nearer to the point, even at Cambridge it is felt to have many shortcomings. A fellowship may be given without any injustice by examination, because fellows have few duties to discharge; but as soon as it is attempted to distribute offices by the same principle—to give tutorships, for example, simply in accordance with tripos lists—it is notorious that the plan breaks down, and would almost as often as not put men in places for which they are entirely unfit. The Senior Wrangler may be the cleverest man of his year; but it is the exception, rather than the rule, that he should also be the best teacher; and the colleges have, in fact, enough common sense to leave such duties to be distributed by appointment.

Although this precedent is not precisely applicable to the case of clerks in a public office, it will serve to suggest the main shortcomings of the competitive principle. In the first place, that principle is generally recommended in the name of promotion by merit; but it must be remembered that it is directly opposed to promotion by merits of all kinds, and frequently to promotion by merit of the appropriate kind. It absolutely forbids that we should take into account at all any merit except that which can be tested by writing out questions on paper. A man may be qualified in a dozen different ways for a given post, and yet we may be compelled to give it to a rival who is his inferior in all but one. As a necessary result, excellence which does not pay is deprived of a legitimate means of attraction. Merit, that is to say, is directly discouraged by a plan of which it is the one boast that it gives to merit a special advantage. It was proposed lately to make the appointments to the Indian Civil Service equally accessible to natives as to Englishmen. In other words, in governing a great empire, it was proposed that we should take no notice whatever of the one absolutely essential quality—namely, the power of governing; that we should leave that to mere chance, and take for the future rulers the lads who, at the age of twenty-two, could write out answers to most questions in the shortest time. This is only a legitimate consequence of the method which deliberately resolves to take into account only one, and that by no means the most important, criterion of ability.

It may be said that this argument is only applicable in the case of the higher offices, and that when we are considering the case of ordinary clerks, who have nothing to do but to copy letters and accounts, and whose appointment will in no case rest upon a careful consideration of their merits, the examination test is on the whole the best we can obtain in practice. Even here, however, there are certain obvious limitations to its utility. In the first place, there is the obvious consideration noticed by Mr. Lowe. So long as our public offices are in their present state, we are doing a very

questionable service to our clever young men by inviting them to such a competition. A sharp youth who is just coming of age is strongly tempted to gain an immediate independence by going in for a competitive examination, which, moreover, under our present system of training, has a certain factitious attraction. He has been competing for exhibitions, scholarships, fellowships, from his earliest boyhood, and he fancies that success in such matters is of infinitely more importance than grown-up men can easily imagine. He accordingly goes into an office where he is set to spend years of his life upon merely mechanical drudgery. The direct tendency, in fact, of the system, is to get men who are too good for their work, and to give to public offices an attraction altogether disproportionate to their real value. We deliberately do our best to get our blocks cut with razors, for in a competitive examination there can be no limit, except the eagerness of the competitors, for the qualifications demanded. Instead of getting a fit man for the place, we probably get some one in whom it will necessarily be a constant source of discontent. This objection may, indeed, be removed to a great extent by a better organization of public offices, and we fully admit that under wise regulations there is much to be said for the competitive principle as compared with the old plan of entirely unrestricted patronage.

There is, however, another very different consideration, of which nothing was said in the debate, but which probably deserves more attention than any. The argument, so far as we have gone, rests upon the assumption that if a man has the good quality A, he is equally likely to possess the good qualities B, C, D, and so on to Z. If he succeeds in a competitive examination in mathematics, he will also be probably as good as his neighbours, or possibly better, in moral virtue, physical excellence, and social qualifications. Assuming, for the sake of the argument, that this is true, it entirely neglects what we may call the secondary operation of the system. Choose the best mathematician for once, and you may perhaps find that he is also the most accomplished scholar; but give public notice that you are always going to take the best mathematician, and mathematics will be cultivated at the expense of scholarship. The effect upon the many persons who do not win the prize is at least as important as the effect upon the one who is successful. They have guided their studies by the course marked out for them, and have been educated for some years entirely with a view to excelling in this particular test. In other words, by selecting any particular study or course of studies as the necessary gateway to official preferment, we put an enormous premium upon those studies, and do for a great part of our educational bodies what fellowships and scholarships do for the Universities. The effect already produced by the appointments thrown open is very considerable, and is likely to be increased in future. The question whether the influence has, on the whole, been healthy is doubtless a large one; but one point is sufficiently clear to be noticed, and will suggest that our future action in this direction should at least be carefully considered. It is held by most thoughtful observers that the system of competitive examination, to which it is proposed to add a considerable stimulus, has nearly reached, if it has not exceeded, its reasonable limits, so far as the interests of our schools and Universities are concerned. A boy's career is one series of competitions, if he shows any signs of talent, and many results of questionable value have been developed. The system of cramming and grinding has been raised to a fine art, and in itself is simply deleterious. Nor is it easy to see how competitive examinations can ever be thoroughly relieved from this evil. If the examinations are wide enough to test the general system of education, there is an irresistible temptation to superficial knowledge; if they are strictly limited, education tends to become unduly narrowed. An additional and artificial reason is given for neglecting the introduction into the curriculum of new studies which every one is anxious to see fairly encouraged. Meanwhile the characteristic evil of English schools, the idleness and ignorance of the inferior mass of commonplace boys, is not even touched; the stimulus is felt exclusively by the cleverer lads, who already are often urged beyond any judicious bounds. If entrance into public offices were limited to those who had satisfactorily passed a certain educational course (which supposes, of course, an organization of schools which we do not at present possess), the influence of the change would be more or less felt throughout the school. As it is only proposed to throw them open to competition amongst a few, the influence will be of an entirely different character; it will increase the tendency, already regarded with reasonable suspicion, towards cramming in all its branches, and will further strengthen the disposition to make examinations, not what they ought to be, the tests of the education given, but the determining objects towards which education is to be directed. We repeat that, within due limits, the principle may perhaps be carried out judiciously; but it is impossible to overlook the fact that it tends directly to encourage one of the most growing evils of the present day. Instead of hailing it as an obvious improvement under all circumstances, its extension ought to be carefully watched, and only admitted with proper securities against its too easy abuse.

THE BULGARIAN QUESTION.

THE Eastern Question is a fruitful mother of unruly children, and each succeeding year presents some new difficulty in the management of its offspring. Bulgaria is the youngest child, and she is now offering a difficulty for solution which cannot fail to

influence the Eastern question in a manner extremely distasteful to the Greeks. The number of Orthodox Bulgarians in European Turkey, who have long been the sheep in the Greek Church with the best fleeces, exceeds four millions and a half. The Greeks themselves amount only to one million; and the whole Greek race, even when the Greeks of the Hellenic Kingdom, Asia Minor, and those scattered in Russia are included, is supposed to fall short of the Bulgarians by at least a million. The Bulgarians dwell together in one great body, inhabiting a fertile though thinly peopled country, which invites man to multiply and replenish the earth; while, on the other hand, the Greeks live dispersed along a thousand miles of sea-coast, in regions where limestone rocks forbid cultivation, and a smiling sea calls on them to build ships and plough its waters. The Bulgarians are naturally an agricultural people. The Greeks are a commercial people. Their union might lay the foundations of a powerful Christian State, but there are no signs that any ties of sympathy and interest can be formed to bind them together in a close alliance. At present their feelings are not friendly, and they seem to be steadily accumulating a large capital of national antipathy.

The Greeks have been long working to undermine the foundations of the Ottoman Empire, by rousing the feelings of nationality in all the Christian races subject to the Sultan. Historical traditions, and the position of the Eastern Church at Constantinople, suggested the ambitious scheme of establishing a new Greek Empire, and they called this grand project "the great idea." The position of the Greek Patriarchate is singular. Mohammed II., when he conquered Constantinople, found the Eastern Church in a disorganized state. He saw the importance of rendering the violent animosity of the Greek clergy against the Latins of practical use to his government, and of attaching them to his rule by entrusting them with administrative as well as ecclesiastical authority. The measures he adopted for organizing the Greek Church, and employing it as an instrument of his power, were singularly sagacious, and have secured the allegiance of the great body of the Greek clergy to the present day. He declared the Sultan the protector of Orthodoxy against Catholicism. He reorganized a Greek Patriarchate as a branch of the civil government, and found in the Patriarch Gennadios, and the Bishops of his Empire, a Secretary of State and a number of Prefects for the government of his Orthodox subjects of every race. The name given to the whole Orthodox population of the Ottoman Empire was, and is, *Roum* or *Romaioi*; and the practice has become general of calling them Greeks, without distinguishing in many cases whether they are Greeks, Wallachians, Servians, Albanians, or Bulgarians. Thirty years ago the Greeks themselves believed that their race in European Turkey numbered from nine to ten millions.

The spirit of nationality has now been roused in Bulgaria, and the Greeks, instead of striving to form an alliance with a spirit which they can neither lay nor guide, are constantly irritating its feelings and scorning its traditions. Bulgarian nationality ranks among the old nationalities of Europe. It is older than the English monarchy both in Church and State, and was nursed more than a thousand years ago by long and glorious wars with the Eastern Roman Empire and the Greek Church. Its revival could not fail to awaken some opposition to Greek nationality and the ecclesiastical domination of the Greeks, for, in the East, the mind of man is always recurring to the past. Already Bulgarian nationality is raising a barrier against the progress of what the modern Greeks call Hellenism, and its political significance is attracting attention in the East, though the Bulgarian question of to-day is essentially ecclesiastical. The strength of the feelings that impel the Bulgarians to demand ecclesiastical independence and the recognition of their national Church cannot be fully understood without some knowledge of their history.

The Bulgarians crossed the Danube, to establish themselves as conquerors and colonists in *Moesia*, during the latter part of the fifth century. While the Angles were creating England, the Bulgarians were creating Bulgaria, and they fixed their name on the country between the Danube and the Balkan about the same time that the Angles gave the name of England to Southern Britain. The Bulgarian conquest resembles the Saxon, by the conquerors imposing their nationality on the conquered; while it also resembles the Scandinavian conquest of Normandy, inasmuch as the Bulgarians adopted the language of the Slavonian population which they absorbed. For many centuries the Kings of the Bulgarians were the sovereigns of a powerful monarchy that extended on both banks of the Danube from the Carpathian Mountains to the Balkan, and their conquests often embraced extensive districts of Thrace and Macedonia, where the agricultural population speaks the Bulgarian dialect at the present day. The Bulgarian monarchs, in a long series of bloody wars, sought to drive the Byzantine Emperors into Asia Minor, and they frequently encamped before the walls of Constantinople. As early as the year 712, the commerce of Bulgaria had acquired great political importance. In that year the Bulgarian troops defeated the armies of the Eastern Roman Empire, stormed the long wall of Thrace, and laid siege to Constantinople. Three years later, their King, Kormersios, concluded a commercial treaty with the Emperor Theodosius III. This treaty regulated the duties that were to be paid on the frontiers of the two States, and at every period of peace its stipulations remained in force for two centuries—a singular testimony to the stationary condition of Eastern society, and an honourable proof of the invariability and purity of the By-

zantine coinage by which the money payments were regulated. About the time that Egbert founded the kingdom of England, a great king named Krumn ruled the Bulgarians. He defeated and slew the Emperor Nicephorus I., and the Greek chronicles tell us he made a drinking cup of the Emperor's skull. We can only hope that he used it solely for drinking viper broth and similar medicaments. He defeated the successor of Nicephorus, Michael I., who was dethroned by his subjects for his incapacity. The next Emperor, Leo V. the Armenian, though a soldier, was not more successful than his predecessors. He attempted the assassination of Krumn at a conference held under the walls of Constantinople, and to avenge his treachery the Bulgarian King laid waste the suburbs of the Imperial city, burned all the palaces and villas on the European shore of the Bosphorus, and desolated all the country, on his way back to the Balkan, with fire and sword. Fortunately for the Greek population, he died shortly after this expedition, and Leo V., in the year 817, concluded a treaty of peace with Mortagon, the new King of the Bulgarians. It is recorded that the commercial treaty of 715 was again renewed in the year 852, and a few years later Bogoris, the King of the Bulgarians, embraced Christianity, and was baptized by a Byzantine bishop, sent for the purpose by Michael III., called the Drunkard. At his baptism, Bogoris received the name of Michael from his disreputable godfather.

The conversion of the Bulgarians raised the question of nationality in ecclesiastical affairs more than a thousand years ago, which is the Bulgarian question of to-day; so that, in order to take a comprehensive and accurate view of the conflict that is going on between the Greek Patriarch and the Bulgarian clergy, we must note the leading events in a struggle for ecclesiastical independence on one side and for episcopal dominion on the other, which originated in the ninth century and is vigorous in the nineteenth. The mutual animosity has frequently been so violent that the Bulgarians have sought to separate themselves completely from the Greeks by submitting to the supremacy of the Pope; but a short experience has always convinced them that Papal despotism demands a more absolute sacrifice of ecclesiastical nationality than Greek domination requires. They have therefore always returned, in a short time, to the Eastern Church, and renewed their quarrels with the Greeks within the pale of Orthodoxy. Neander, in his History of the Christian Religion and Church, gives an interesting notice of the state of things in Bulgaria during the ninth century. The power of the Greek clergy was great, and the deficiency of priests induced a Greek layman to simulate the character of a priest, and to baptize and marry Christians. The people discovered the deceit of the wily Greek, and punished him by cutting off his nose and ears. The Greeks, both laymen and clergy, furnished the Bulgarians with many strange stories concerning their conduct, and taught them many superstitions. Some of the priests made themselves men of importance by boasting that they were able to foretell future events from the Scriptures.

During the reign of our Saxon King, Edward the Elder, the Bulgarians were ruled by a great monarch, Symeon, who placed Bulgaria on a footing of equality with the Byzantine Empire, both in political power and ecclesiastical independence. After vanquishing the Imperial armies at a place called Achelous, which Gibbon confounds in a strange way with the classic banks of the *Ætolian* river, and in virtue of the confusion calls Symeon a barbaric Hercules, the victorious Bulgarian monarch marched to Constantinople. In the year 924 he compelled the Emperor Romanus I. to hold a conference with him outside the walls of Constantinople, and agree to the terms of peace imposed by the victories of the Bulgarians, in presence of the Patriarch of Constantinople and the Senators and great officers of State of the Eastern Empire. The Byzantine historians have, as far as lay in their power, concealed the terms of this treaty. But several documents exist which prove that it contained an express article recognising the independence of a national Church in Bulgaria. The Byzantine writers record the terrible effect produced on the mind of the Greek Emperor by the communication of the ultimatum of the Bulgarian King. The political and ecclesiastical pride of the Emperor and the Patriarch were alike humbled in the dust, and together they entered the sanctuary of the great church of Blachern, where the Emperor Romanus, extending his hands to heaven, fell prostrate on the ground, and prayed long, with bitter tears, that the Virgin would soften the heart of Symeon, and avert from the Empire and the Church the degradation with which he threatened them. But neither prayers nor diplomacy availed, and in the year 924 the Greeks were compelled to recognise the national Church of Bulgaria as an independent autocephalous Church, observing the holy apostolic canons and traditions, and holding the doctrines of the Orthodox Church of Constantinople, with the most ample authority to administer its own ecclesiastical affairs, independently of every other Orthodox Church. The vindication of these rights forms the Bulgarian question of our day.

The brilliant reign of Symeon exhausted or corrupted the strength of the Bulgarian Kingdom. About fifty years after his death, the Russians invaded Bulgaria from the north; and the Armenian Emperor of Constantinople, Chumuskik Keurjan, who, from feelings of compassion for European throats and ears, is called John Zimisces, drove back the Russians and conquered Bulgaria. He restored the supremacy of the Greek Patriarch in the country north of the Balkan, but the Bulgarians prolonged the existence of their kingdom and their independent Church in the western provinces of Macedonia and the eastern part of Illyria; and Achrida became the capital and the seat of the Bulgarian Patri-

archate. The Emperor Basil II. put an end to this first Bulgarian Kingdom in the year 1018. He drowned the monarchy in blood, and merited his title of "the Slayer of the Bulgarians" by his acts of unparalleled cruelty. Finding himself embarrassed with 15,000 Bulgarian prisoners, he put out their eyes and sent them back to Achrida. The King Samuel was so horrorstruck by the sight of these unfortunate men that he died of apoplexy. The Patriarch of Bulgaria, John of Dibre, was reduced by the Emperor to the rank of Archbishop of Bulgaria, and compelled to recognise the supremacy of the Patriarch of Constantinople, but he was allowed to retain eighteen episcopal sees under his jurisdiction.

The ecclesiastical legislation of Basil II. regulated the degree of subordination of the Archbishops of Bulgaria to the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and of the suffragan Bulgarian bishops to the Archbishop of Bulgaria, for many centuries. It must be observed that feelings of nationality were almost dormant in the Byzantine Government and the Eastern Church in the tenth and eleventh centuries. With some modifications, the state of things established by the Slayer of the Bulgarians continued in force for a period of 750 years. When Sir Paul Ricaut wrote his work, *The Present State of the Greek Church, Anno Christi 1678*, he observes that the Archbishop of Achrida had still eighteen suffragan bishops, and adds, "the certain reason of which I cannot tell." The shadow of independence in the Bulgarian Church was destroyed in the year 1767 by the Patriarch Samuel, who abolished the Archbishopric of Bulgaria. The tranquillity with which the Bulgarians submitted to the loss of their Church misled the Greeks into the belief that the Bulgarian race had no strong feelings of nationality. They overlooked the circumstances which silenced the voice of the nation, and they were unable to trace the connexion of the numerous heresies that flourished in Bulgaria with feelings of nationality.

The Ottoman conquest and the political organization of the Patriarchate of Constantinople by Mohammed II. created a close alliance between the Sultan's Government and the Greek clergy. Orthodox Bishops performed the duties of Ottoman officials, and the Porte consulted its interests in filling the Archbishopric of Bulgaria and its suffragan sees with Greeks. There was consequently no national sympathy between the people and the clergy when the Patriarch Samuel abolished a mere ecclesiastical title. The national impulse which now demands ecclesiastical independence has been awakened partly by that general quickening of the intellectual powers which is apparent in every race in European Turkey with the exception of the Albanian, and partly by the excitement of Greek and Russian emissaries who hoped to make the physical force of the Bulgarian nation subservient to their schemes for dismembering the Ottoman Empire. They had no suspicion that, in awakening the intellectual powers of the Bulgarians, the strength that was roused to activity would be employed first of all to advance Bulgarian interests and gratify Bulgarian feelings.

In order to complete a sketch of the complications of the Bulgarian question, it is necessary to notice the ecclesiastical history of the second Bulgarian Kingdom founded in the latter part of the twelfth century. This Bulgaro-Vallachian Kingdom is better known to Western historians than the first great Bulgarian monarchy on account of the intercourse of King Joannicius with Pope Innocent III., and of the defeat and death of the first Latin Emperor of Constantinople, Count Baldwin of Flanders, who ended his days in a Bulgarian prison. Joannicius had perceived the importance of securing the support of Papal authority against the Crusaders, and had reconciled himself with Pope Innocent III. by recognising Papal supremacy and placing his throne under the especial protection of the Pope before the Latin conquerors of Constantinople summoned him to become their vassal. To their insolent demands he replied, "I rule the land of my ancestors, and I received my crown from the hands of the Pope; you have violently taken possession of the imperial city, and the title of Emperor of Constantinople assumed by your leader is a manifest usurpation." It was, however, only a very short time before he sent this haughty reply that the diplomacy of Joannicius had succeeded. Pope Innocent III. sent a Cardinal with a crown and sceptre to Ternovo, who, after investing the Archbishop with the pallium as Metropolitan or Patriarch of Bulgaria, crowned Joannicius King of the Vallachians and Bulgarians on November 8, 1204. The submission of the King was a political manoeuvre; the people remained attached to the Eastern Church, and only the Court and higher clergy conformed to Catholicism. The ecclesiastical union with Rome can only have lasted about thirty years, for John Asan, King of the Bulgarians, allied himself in 1234 with John Vatatzes, the Greek Emperor of Nicea, and the Archbishop of Ternovo then returned to the communion of the Eastern Church, but he retained ecclesiastical supremacy in the Bulgarian Kingdom and the title of Patriarch of Bulgaria.

It is difficult to follow the history of the Bulgarian Patriarchate in the second Bulgarian Kingdom, and still more difficult to define its relations with the Patriarchate of Constantinople and the Archbishopric of Achrida. But there is little doubt that it remained supreme within the limits of the second Bulgarian Kingdom until its conquest, and that the Bulgarian Church was autocephalous, and not subjected to the Church of Constantinople. The extinction of the ecclesiastical as well as of the political independence of Bulgaria occurred in 1393, when Sultan Bajazid I. conquered the kingdom, the last King, Sisman, surrendered himself a prisoner, and his son became an apostate. When Mohammed II. organized the hierarchy of the Greek Church as it now exists in

the Ottoman Empire, the Archbishop of Ternovo became entirely dependent on the Patriarch of Constantinople, but was honoured with the title of Exarch. We must repeat, what has been already observed, that the position of the Metropolitan of Achrida, as Archbishop of Bulgaria, representing the ecclesiastical traditions of the first Bulgarian Kingdom, and that of the Metropolitan of Ternovo as Exarch of Bulgaria, representing the more recent ecclesiastical traditions of the second Bulgarian Kingdom, cause considerable confusion; but the obscurity that prevails on some ecclesiastical details does not affect the main issue of the Bulgarian question, which is the claim of the Bulgarians to possess a national Church.

This sketch of Bulgarian ecclesiastical history was necessary to enable the reader to see clearly all the sources of the present conflict, and to avoid the necessity of any digressions in our short account of the actual position of the Bulgarian question. The feelings of nationality in the East are first felt through the action of religion, and, if there be nothing that can be called religious persecution, mental activity displays itself in ecclesiastical questions. The Patriarch of Constantinople, in his recent encyclical and synodal letter to all the independent Orthodox Churches, says that those who flattered the feelings of nationality, and awakened the prejudices of race among the Bulgarians, worked to detach them from his authority. The agitation of the Bulgarian question forced the Greek clergy, as early as the year 1848, to consent to the erection of a Bulgarian church and the foundation of a Bulgarian college at Constantinople, in order that religious service might be performed and theological instruction given to Bulgarians in their own ecclesiastical language. Shortly after this, several Bulgarian Bishops proclaimed themselves the champions of the deliverance of the Bulgarian Church from what they termed the intolerable exactions of the Greek clergy, and they demanded that the Patriarchs of Bulgaria should be restored to their former independent position. The Patriarch of Constantinople and the Greek Synod were so alarmed that some concessions were made; but, as usually happens where past traditions decide on present circumstances, the measures of conciliation adopted were so trifling that they served only as a recognition of ecclesiastical grievances, and gave strength to the demand for independence.

The Hatt-i-Humayoun having enlarged the liberties of the Christians in the Ottoman Empire, the Bulgarians in the year 1856 petitioned Sultan Abdul-Medjid to concede to them the same ecclesiastical privileges as a nation that are enjoyed by the Greeks and Armenians, and of which they had been deprived by an arbitrary act of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. From that time the disputes between the Greeks and Bulgarians in all the provinces where they are mingled together, from the western districts of Macedonia to the north-eastern part of Thrace, have been frequently very violent. Each nation attempted to take exclusive possession of the churches and schools, and drive out the other by force, and a number of Bulgarians resorted to the old stratagem of increasing their power by an alliance with the Papal Church. Communications were opened with the Pope, and a union with the Church of Rome was effected, but, as of old, the movement was repudiated by the nation. In 1860 the principal inhabitants of Ternovo presented a petition to the Sublime Porte recapitulating the exactions of the Greek bishops in Bulgaria, and enumerating the obstacles offered by the Greek clergy to the education of the people and the cultivation of the Bulgarian language. The prayer of this petition was, that the Archbishops of Ternovo and Achrida be restored to their ancient position in an independent national Church. On Easter Sunday in that year, Hilarion, the Bulgarian bishop who celebrated divine service in the national church at Constantinople, struck a heavy blow at Greek nationality by omitting to name the Patriarch of Constantinople in the Liturgy, and praying only for all Orthodox bishops, according to the form used by the Patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, Jerusalem, and other independent patriarchs in the Eastern Church. He was condemned by the Greeks, but supported by several Bulgarian bishops. It is needless to follow the conflict of Greek and Bulgarian nationality into further details. The Greek Patriarch, in his encyclical letter, mentions that the animosity became so vehement that many Greek bishops were expelled from Bulgaria.

This state of things induced the Porte to listen to the demands of the Bulgarians so far as to name a mixed Commission, in 1862, for the purpose of bringing about an amicable arrangement. It was, however, already apparent to calm spectators that the feelings of two rival nationalities were too deeply engaged in hostilities on a narrow arena to leave any alternative between a decisive victory or a complete separation. When all hope of an amicable termination of the conflict ceased, the Sublime Porte addressed a communication to the Greek Patriarch, dated October 15, 1868, in which, after stating that the Bulgarian nation claimed a right to live under their own priests and bishops, that the efforts of the Porte to reconcile the differences between the Greeks and Bulgarians had proved unavailing, and that it was necessary to put an end to the existing discord, the Porte submitted two projects of arrangement to the Patriarch, and invited him, in case any third plan could be devised in harmony with the rights of both nationalities, and better adapted to ensure concord, to lay such plan before the Sublime Porte.

The first project conceded to the Bulgarians the right to have priests of their own nationality, and stipulated that in those dioceses where the Bulgarians form the majority the bishop is to be a

Bulgarian, and in those where the majority of the Orthodox is Greek the bishop is to be a Greek. The Bulgarians shall have a Chief Metropolitan or Patriarch, and a Synod residing in the capital of the Empire. This Patriarch shall be elected by the Synod, and invested by an imperial *berat*. On dogmatic points the Bulgarian Church must refer to the ecumenical Patriarch of Constantinople, and his name must be mentioned in the service of the Bulgarian Church. The bishops, whatever be their nationality, must reside in their dioceses. The churches where the Bulgarian service is now performed shall remain the property of the Bulgarians, but the churches in which both Greek and Bulgarian services are now performed shall become the sole property of the Greeks, and the Bulgarians must build a new church. Regulations relative to the constitution of the Bulgarian Synod must be drawn up and submitted to the Porte. The second project differed from the first in conceding to the Bulgarians the right of having a metropolitan in every province and a bishop in every district where there exists a large Bulgarian population. But it accords to these metropolitans and bishops only the authority to establish their residence in, and to take their ecclesiastical titles from, towns not occupied by Greeks. The other articles of the second differ little from those of the first project, and the right to form a national Synod is conceded.

Both these projects were rejected by the Patriarch of Constantinople, who declared that they are opposed to the councils and canons of the Orthodox Church. Instead of proposing a third plan in conformity with these councils and canons, he proposed that an Ecumenical Council of the Eastern Church should be convoked. The proposal of convoking an Ecumenical Council under the protection of a Mohammedan Government was understood by the Porte to be a Patriarchal device for leaving the solution of the Bulgarian question to time and circumstances. The Ottoman Government must feel some satisfaction in being allowed to remain a passive spectator of an ecclesiastical conflict of Christians. Judging from the tendencies of society in the East, it seems probable that time and circumstances are strongly in favour of Bulgarian nationality in the struggle to gain ecclesiastical independence and establish a national Church.

THE IRISH SOCIETY.

IN the year 1609 unsuccessful rebellion, followed by confiscation, had placed the county of Derry and five adjoining counties of Ireland at the disposal of the Crown. In that year negotiations were commenced between the King and the Corporation of London for the purpose of settling the terms on which the forfeited lands in the county of Derry should be conveyed to the Corporation, for the purpose of planting them with Protestant colonies. For the management of the estates intended to be thus conveyed, the Common Council elected a body, consisting of a Governor, Deputy-Governor, and twenty-four Assistants, of whom one half retire every year, their places being supplied by a new election. The body thus elected was incorporated by Royal Charter, and its estates were erected into a county which was called Londonderry. This body is generally called the Irish Society. A large portion of the lands originally belonging to it was afterwards divided among the twelve great Companies of the City of London, which thus became landowners in Ireland. Some of these Companies from time to time disposed of their estates in perpetuity. Others granted long leases; but the Drapers', Grocers', and Mercers' Companies retained their estates in their own hands, and manage them by resident agents. The lands not divided among the Companies remained vested in the Irish Society, which thus counted among its possessions the city of Londonderry, the town of Coleraine, the fisheries of the Bann and the Foyle, and 30,000 acres of land. The introduction of this colony changed the aspect of the country, which had theretofore been one of the most desolate parts of Ireland. Artisans in all the chief branches of trade and manufacture were brought over by the Companies, and habits of industry and independence became at once fixed among the population. The native Irish, who had been driven from the country, returned by degrees, and imitated, although they did not equal, the diligence and frugality of the colonists.

We seem to approach the border of the burlesque when we mention that a body composed of the Common Councilmen of the City of London, as we now know them, are the inheritors of these grand traditions, and the owners of these magnificent possessions. Within recent years Mr. Cox, the member of Parliament for Finsbury, was Deputy-Governor of the Irish Society, and visited in that capacity the famous city of Londonderry, the bulwark of the Protestantism of Ulster, of which, as representing the Society, he was the visible master and possessor. A deputation of the Society visits its estates every year, and we do not doubt that the Common Councilmen of London enjoy their ease and maintain their dignity upon these expeditions. The estates of the Society and of the Companies, compared with estates in other parts of Ireland, are well managed. We do not exactly know what becomes of the surplus revenues of these bodies after defraying expenses of management, but we suppose that it must be a very nice thing to be a solicitor or surveyor employed by them, because we are sure that they pay their servants liberally, both as being their duty and as a means of preventing the surplus from growing inconveniently large. It is a pity that the Common Councilmen of London should be interrupted in this pleasant business of playing landlords over Londonderry, but we do greatly fear that Mr. Glad-

stone has his eye upon them, and that Mr. Bright will be wanting to try, at their expense, some of his plans for regenerating Ireland. It is quite true that the management of their estates has become much more economical and efficient than it used to be, and that those estates present an aspect of tranquillity and prosperity which other parts of Ireland would do well to imitate. It is not the least of the difficulties of legislating for that strange country, that any admission which may be made of the evils of the system of absentee landlords must be qualified with the remark that some of the best-managed estates belong to absentee landlords. It was stated by Mr. Alderman Lawrence, who defended the Irish Society in the House of Commons against Mr. Maguire's attack, that six-tenths of the revenues of the Society are spent in Ireland. But we cannot wonder if Irishmen complain that the remaining four-tenths are spent, as we suppose they are, in London. It is stated again, and probably with truth, by Mr. Alderman Lawrence, that the Society does not job for the benefit of the families of its own members. But an Irishman would think, if he did not say, that the Society ought to job for the benefit of his compatriots. Nor can we wonder that an Irishman, even if he admits that the present management is as good as the managers represent it as being, looks back with fond regret to the pretty pickings which Englishmen must have got out of these estates in former years. The Society has been involved in protracted and costly litigation, and although this is now treated as a misfortune, we suspect that it was borne with considerable equanimity both by the Society and by the lawyers who were employed by it. There was a grand lawsuit between the Society and the Skinners' Company, which claimed a share of the surplus revenues of the Society. The claim failed, and the Society was declared to be entitled to retain its surplus upon trust, to apply it in its discretion to public purposes. If the claim had succeeded, the Skinners' Company would have got a share of the surplus revenues, and what it would have done with them we cannot tell, but we can hardly suppose they would have been applied exclusively for the benefit of Ireland. We hear much from Mr. Alderman Lawrence about gifts of money by the Society to build bridges and found schools, and it is doubtless pleasant to Common Councilmen to perform the part of Providence during a tour in Ireland; but, unfortunately, a view of the subject presents itself to Irishmen according to which these gifts, for which they are called upon to be grateful, are made to them out of their own money. There is as much difference between the views entertained at London and Londonderry as there is between Mr. Cox and the founders of the Irish Society. The view entertained at Londonderry may perhaps be mistaken, but it would at least be desirable that Common Councilmen of London should endeavour to understand it.

The Irish Society necessarily shares that weakness of the Corporation out of which it is derived, which arises from the fact that the most intelligent and influential of the citizens of London keep aloof from the management of its affairs. Mr. Crawford, as a member for the City, felt it his duty to speak upon Mr. Maguire's motion; but he stated that, as he was not a member of the Corporation, he knew little about the management of the Society. It is difficult to maintain that a body composed of twenty-four Common Councilmen, who hold office for two years, is well qualified for the performance of its duty, unless indeed that duty be, as suggested by a speaker in the debate, the consumption of a surplus. If it be admitted that the whole revenues of the Society ought to be applied to public purposes, it seems to follow that the administration of these revenues ought to be placed in different hands. But if it could be successfully contended that the Society ought to limit the extent of the application of its revenues to public purposes, so as to have the largest possible surplus available for division among the City Companies, then the Society, being composed of the same elements as the Companies, may be considered as well constituted to protect their interests. To put the matter shortly, if the Society exists for the benefit of London, it might remain as it is; but if it exists for the benefit of Londonderry, its constitution ought to be changed. There is a clear distinction between the position of the Society as a landowner and the position of the Companies. The Society holds its lands, as has been judicially decided, upon trust for public purposes; but the Companies acquired their lands in return for the contributions of money which they made to the colonizing project of King James I. Indeed, the fortifications of Protestant Londonderry, which stood 105 days' siege by the Roman Catholic army of King James II., were built with the money of the Companies, and when the houses and churches which had been ruined by artillery were rebuilt, the Companies again found the money. The case of the Companies is even stronger, because the contributions which they made under King James I. were compulsorily levied upon them by the Corporation. They hold their Irish estates, therefore, by the same tenure as they hold estates in England. Whether it is beneficial to Ireland or to England that such bodies should hold estates, and apply the revenues thereof as they do apply them, is a large question into which we will not at this time enter. The case of the Irish Society, as we have said, is different. It is bound to apply its revenues for public purposes in Ireland, and if it fulfils that duty it is not likely to be embarrassed with a surplus. It will not be forgotten that although the administrators of these estates are, and have been in the present century, what we know them, yet they represent the instruments of a great act of policy concerning which an historian has written that "the experience of ages bears the most honourable testimony to the design, and

Ireland must gratefully acknowledge that here were the first foundations laid of her affluence and security." We admit that the Society amply fulfilled the purposes for which it was created, and we have only to add that it fulfilled them a long time ago. The inquiry which is now promised by the Secretary for Ireland will not add much to the knowledge which may be derived from the Report of the Royal Commission on the Corporation of London which examined into this matter in 1854. We learn from that Report that the revenues of the Society are at present appropriated partly to the expenses of management, partly in grants for the municipal institutions of Londonderry, and partly in grants to various charitable and educational institutions connected with the districts around Londonderry and Coleraine. It has become in substance a large charitable endowment for the North of Ireland, managed by an absentee committee in London. The relations between the Society and its tenants and dependants are unsatisfactory. "We feel bound," say the Commissioners, "to express our opinion that great abuses existed no long time since in the administration of this trust property, and that the expenses of management went far beyond the necessary costs attendant upon a distant executive." In the thirty years which elapsed from 1818 to 1847 the costs of management amounted to more than half the expenditure, if we exclude from the calculation certain items of expenditure which were of a permanent nature.

It was said by King James I. that, when his enemies should hear that the famous city of London had a footing in Ulster, they would be terrified from looking into Ireland. In the lapse of two centuries and a half the power and influence of the City of London have come to be principally directed to maintaining a position which it gained by the display of qualities other than those which get a man into Parliament for Finsbury. We doubt whether the Fenians would be terrified by the arrival in Ulster of Mr. Cox or the twenty-four Common Councilmen, his colleagues, with their wives and daughters. Truly said the Commissioners of 1854, "the influence of the City of London in civilizing, in governing, and in protecting the North of Ireland, is no longer felt." In the last agony of that protracted siege when famine within the walls of Londonderry became more terrible than bigoted and infuriated enemies without, the watchers upon the city's towers looked forth upon Loch Foyle and saw traversing its waters ships with friendly ensigns. The fort was passed, the boom was broken, and the ships which bore succour from the City of London to her distant and afflicted daughter lay along the quays. Then the citizens of Londonderry might have exclaimed, with heartfelt gratitude, *ex oriente salus*. We suppose they are expected to say the same when they now complain that their English landlords will not grant them building leases, and when a deputation of London Common Councilmen comes in state to listen to the recital of their grievances.

THE SHILLING CORN DUTY.

"FAITH in principles" and "the strength of abstract reasoning" may have been sufficiently good reasons for the remission of the Corn duties, and if Mr. Lowe had contented himself with resting his case on them he would have shown more wisdom in this matter than he has done. Beyond these reasons, all his arguments, all his assumptions and speculations, are of the weakest type—almost laughably weak to those who strip the subject of its sentiment, and look at it calmly in its practical bearings. Those parts of his argument which had truth for their basis were weak, while those which unfolded great prospects of advantage were founded on expectations of which it may be safely said that they will not be accomplished. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, having created for himself a surplus by drawing from certain classes of tax-payers fifteen months' taxes within twelve months, had before him the whole field of British taxation from which to select for remission the most obnoxious or the most unjust tax. Whether he has done so it is not our purpose here to discuss. It ought to be remarked, however, that among merchants and the public the Sugar duties were those which had been specially marked as requiring alteration; duties heavy in themselves, amounting perhaps to about 30 per cent. on the value of the raw material, and levied on such a scale, if the complaints made through the public journals are true, as to amount to giving a premium to the producer abroad for supplying consumers here with the worst article. The Tea duties, amounting to 25 or 30 per cent., were pointed out for reduction by Mr. Bright's "free breakfast table" cry; yet these and others have been passed over in favour of a duty with which no one except perhaps a few of the surviving Anti-Corn Law Leaguers was dissatisfied to the extent of even grumbling at it. It is a duty which it really costs nothing to collect; at least we presume that not an officer of Customs less will be employed, for Mr. Lowe has told us of no saving under that head, which he would have done if such a saving were contemplated. Here was nearly a million of money levied by a tax so small in amount as to be practically imperceptible. But it was necessary for Mr. Lowe to magnify the evils and wrongs wrought by the tax in order to exalt his merit and judgment in striking it out of the tariff. The only point he raised worth discussing was the statement that it is "a kind of poll-tax" "graduated in a peculiar fashion, because it falls heaviest on the poorest of your people." Now there are many who believe that in fact the duty does not fall on our people at all, but that it is—like the cost of freight, for instance—a charge borne by

the foreign producer. It is argued that, if the cost of freight rises, the foreign producer has to accept less for his corn, because, this country being in most years the only grain-importing country of any importance, it has, so to speak, the monopoly of purchase in all the markets of the world, and producers have no option but to sell their goods at what may be current values here, or to keep them. If the cost of conveyance to this country advances they must accept less prices at home; so with the duty, if it has to be paid before the corn can enter, the producer must accept so much the less for his corn. In the same way it is contended that cargoes of grain on sale at ports of call will fetch more when the duty ceases to be levied, by the amount of duty, than they would have done had it not been removed; and it was for this reason that merchants were so anxious to extract from the Government information as to the time when the duty would cease. Others believe that the reduction is shared between the foreigner and the consumer at home; and this probably is the fact, and for these reasons. The real basis of value for foreign corn is the value of British corn; the merchant or the speculator when he buys abroad has to consider what, from its plenty or scarcity, will be the value of home-grown grain at the expected time of the arrival of his ships. Having formed his opinion, he knows by experience the comparative value of the foreign grain; he deducts from this assumed value the cost of freight and insurance, and other transit charges, and the profit he sets down for his venture, and offers the merchant abroad the remainder as the price he is willing to pay. When he had to pay the duty, the price he could offer was clearly one shilling less than he will be able to afford to give after the removal of the duty; and so far the shilling would appear to go into the foreigner's pocket. But as this extra shilling would be *pro tanto* an additional inducement to the foreigner to part with his produce, or would pay carriage on a greater distance from the interior to the sea-board, there would be an increase in the quantities sent to our country, which would tend to bring down prices. This fall in prices would, however, as Mr. Caird has shown, tend to restrict the cultivation, and we should have again to seek in foreign markets what would be wanted to make up the deficiency. Thus, after some oscillations, the shilling duty remitted would be found to be shared in some indefinable proportions between the producer abroad and the consumer at home, so that, after all, the relief to our poorest classes is not to the full amount of the impost.

Mr. Lowe made a great point of the exceptional severity with which this tax presses on the poor, and it is worth while to inquire into the extent of their grievance. However the matter may stand, it is scarcely fair to infer that the Corn duties amount to an *exceptional* income-tax of 1½ per cent. even on the means of a family whose only diet is bread. Admitting, for the sake of argument, that the price of wheat will fall to an extent equal to the duty, the real extent of the grievance is that the bread-eating family has had to pay a shilling per quarter duty on its consumption of wheat over and above that of the better-fed family higher in the scale of diet, who eat "meat, eggs, butter, and the like, articles that are duty free." This difference of consumption between the lowest and the middle classes, according to the researches of Dr. Gilbert and Mr. Lawes, amounts to 1½ bushel of wheat per head per annum; so that a bread-eating family of six souls would have to pay the duty on 7½ bushels of wheat per annum, or about one shilling in all, more than their better-fed neighbours—a grievance no doubt, but, after all, no very great grievance, even if the matter rested here. It is the same sort of grievance as that complained of by the tradesman who has to pay for a penny receipt stamp on small transactions, while his larger neighbour with fewer transactions, each ten times as large, pays a less amount in stamp duties to the revenue. But of the duty levied on corn, amounting altogether to 900,000*l.*, only about 400,000*l.* falls on wheat; the remaining half million is paid on articles of food which are converted into "meat, butter, eggs, and the like"; and as, *ex hypothesi*, the tax must be held ultimately to come out of the consumer's pocket, it appears that the better-fed classes, though paying slightly less of the bread tax, pay the whole half million levied on corn other than wheat, and thus, after all, substantial justice is done to all. Indirect taxes are never exactly just in their incidence, but the small duty on corn was probably as just as one as could be devised.

Proceeding from his denunciation of the Corn duty for its unjust pressure upon the poor, Mr. Lowe's next point was its wrongful levy on a "material in its rawest state"; and he argued that "this is, per quarter—or whatever it is—has to bear the profit of the millers, the retailers, and all the different persons through whose hands the corn passes before it reaches the poor man in the form of a loaf." This was indeed to labour the argument, just as much as when, later on, he went into an elaborate statement to show that the duty amounted to a rate of from 2 to 3 per cent. If all the profits together between the importer and the consumer—and, notwithstanding all Mr. Lowe's catalogue, they are only those of the miller and the baker—exceed, or even come up to 10 per cent., we are much mistaken. Now 10 per cent. on a shilling is little more than a penny, and the average value of wheat being about 50*s.* per quarter, and the quarter being more than the consumption of each of the poorest even of the population per annum, Mr. Lowe's indignation was kindled about a "poll-tax," in the shape of profits, of one penny per head per annum, one penny on fifty shillings—a piling up of agony about a very small matter.

Passing from the consideration of the evils due to the Corn duty, Mr. Lowe proceeded to expound the advantages which our

merchants are to gain by its removal. Having shown by returns "how little of an exporting country England is," and that the quantities transhipped were greater than those taken from warehouse, "plainly showing the evil effect of the duty in preventing the establishment of a great corn dépôt in this country," he said, "Nothing but its importance to the poorest and most helpless class of the community could justify me in saying so much as I have done. In doing what we propose we shall be doing that which will greatly tend to their benefit, and be laying the foundation of a great entrepôt trade which will be of enormous advantage to the mercantile classes," &c. We do not hesitate to say that a greater fallacy has never been propounded, and that on this topic the Chancellor of the Exchequer has indulged in anticipations which mercantile men only laugh at, and has thus brought on himself ridicule which might have been avoided had he taken the trouble to make the slightest inquiry into the subject amongst the classes interested. In his spirit of self-reliance he abstained from taking counsel with any expert, just as in his financial scheme he neglected to consult the authorities at the Bank of England. That he should have fallen into this error is not of itself a matter of importance, but it is to be regretted so far as it produces among the trading classes the impression that mercantile topics receive but careless and shallow attention from Mr. Lowe. Another sign of this absence of consideration of the interests of trade may be found in his declaration on Monday night that the money-market must take care of itself. His error arose from the dependence he placed on the Government Returns. If he had inquired from any merchant engaged in the corn trade he would have learned that an enormous trade has been done in this country, in all seasons of scarcity in Western Europe, by means of cargoes of grain from exporting countries touching at Cork or at Falmouth to learn their destination. These cargoes are sold for, and can be directed to, the best market at the moment of their arrival. Thus all expenses of removing from the ship to the store, and from the store back to the ship, and the warehouse expenses and the new freight, are saved by the merchant, who sends his corn direct to the market in need of it at about the same cost as would bring it to England. And in times of plenty and low prices merchants retain their corn in the depôts at the ports of shipment, because it can there be stored cheaper than in this the most expensive country in the world, and is available to be sent direct to any country that may be in need, whether on the Atlantic or the Mediterranean, without incurring the preliminary cost and risk of a voyage to England. And if it were true that the impost prevented grain from being brought to England for storage, the impediment might have been removed by the adoption of the French system of allowing drawbacks on exportation. The French Government not only returns the duty on imported grain if it be re-exported, but also allows the drawback if native grain be exported in place of foreign grain imported, and this without limitation as to the export taking place at the port of importation. Thus duty received on foreign grain at Marseilles may be returned on an equivalent quantity of French corn exported from Dunkirk, Havre, or Nantes. The fact is, we believe, that much larger quantities were retained in granaries in the ports of this country under the old sliding scale of duties, when speculators stored their corn under bond, for the double chance of making a profit by the rise in price and by the consequent reduction of duty, than ever have been or ever will be under a Free-trade system. Now there is no inducement to store corn here which can be housed more cheaply where it is grown. To the farmer the change is likely to make little difference; if it should turn out that he loses somewhat on the price of wheat, he will probably gain something on the reduction, if there be any, in the cost of feeding stuffs. But, as was said in the debate on Monday, the removal of the Corn duties will help him in his agitation against the Malt duty, which, rightly or wrongly, he believes to tell unfairly against the price he obtains for his barley.

On the whole, then, the Corn duty is, as Mr. Baring said, a sentimental grievance that presses upon nobody and injures nobody, and Mr. Lowe would have done better had he simply rested his proposition to put an end to it on the fact that it was the last rag of Protection. In other words, he would have done well to follow the advice of the crafty old judge, who recommended his disciple to give his judgments, but to be very chary of his reasons for them.

SOLDIER LABOUR.

ALL the recent ideas as to Military Reform point in one direction—the combination of mere fighting, and its accompaniments of drill and the like, with more or less of civilian work. In the Prussian army, which has earned by its achievements the right to be regarded as a model of organization, you find men who are essentially civilians trained to the highest point of military efficiency and endurance. No soldiers ever camped with less luxury, or marched with better will, or fought with more tenacity, than the semi-civilian levies who won the decisive battle of Sadowa. In their own, and that a peculiarly British, fashion, our Volunteers have furnished an example of the same tendency, in which the military element is still more decidedly subordinated to civil life; and even in that exclusively fighting machine, our regular army, it is beginning to be seen that some infusion of civilian work and industry will rather improve than deteriorate the quality of the troops. The notion that a soldier should

ever soil his hands with ordinary work, like the theory that mere civilians can be of use with rifles in their hands, is of course extremely distasteful to that purely professional class of military officers—of which "Hippophylax" and the "Military Critics" of the *Times* are flagrant specimens—who think that the blunders of general officers are to be explained and excused by the fact that the men for the time being under their command are only Volunteers. But there is a higher class of representatives of the British Army who are not too narrow-minded to see the value of improvements which clash with the prejudices of the Service, and we do not doubt that all the superior intelligence of the army will range itself on the side of those who wish to make the soldier something more than a trigger-pulling piece of mechanism, and at the same time to diminish the unexampled cost of the British army. But that an enormous mass of prejudice has to be forced aside before anything effectual can be done was evident enough from the discussion on Monday evening. Mr. Hanbury Tracy, backed by Mr. Headlam, made out a really conclusive case in favour of their proposal, that an authorized organization should be adopted for extending the system of military labour to military works throughout all the stations of Her Majesty's Army.

Napoleon's dictum about an army fighting with spades has been borne in mind by his successor and imitator, who has recently directed the energies of his large and vigorous army to the art of rapid entrenchment in the face of an enemy. The actual experience of the Americans in their tremendous civil war proved, not only the importance of employing soldiers on this entrenching work, but the value (in some emergencies quite inestimable) of the skilled labour to be got out of an average regiment. Not only earthworks, but railways and telegraphs, were pulled to pieces and built up again with marvellous rapidity by the soldiers themselves, and more than one successful campaign was due to this obvious mode of utilizing the means at the disposal of the commanding officer. In the very few places where the experiment of using soldier labour has been tried by our army, the result has been an average saving of 30 or 40 per cent., and a marked improvement in the tone of a soldiery whose direct temptation is the enforced idleness in which the greater part of their time is spent. Except at a few isolated stations, the commonest barrack repairs have been executed by contract, by artificers and labourers being hired for the occasion to work while thousands of soldiers were looking on with folded arms. It stands to reason that men with no other opportunity of earning anything for themselves will gladly work for lower pay than is demanded by civilian artisans; and though the value of soldier labour is said to be on an average not more than three-fourths of that of workmen specially trained to the particular labour required, the pay which fully satisfies the otherwise idle soldier is not much more than a quarter of the ruling market rate. A great saving to the country is at the same time a boon and a means of moral training to the soldier, and the marked success of the experiment, wherever it has been tried, is amply sufficient to justify and require the establishment of the general rule which Mr. Hanbury Tracy proposed for the acceptance of the War Department.

One, and only one, objection was started in the House. General Herbert observed that the obstacle to be surmounted was not merely the opposition of officers, because superintendence was requisite, and Engineer officers were not always available for the duty. The idea that a Line officer should be expected to learn just enough of engineer duties to be able to look after the common repairs which his men were doing in barracks, would of course be treated by General Herbert as a monstrous invasion of military privileges; but if it is good for the men and for their country that they should be taught to do the ordinary work of the Service, it cannot be had for the officers to acquire the simple art of seeing whether the work is effectually done. But what General Herbert hinted at—the opposition of officers—is really the only substantial difficulty, and this would soon cease to be a difficulty at all in any army over which an intelligent Minister exercised a real authority. Mr. Cardwell, with that singular admixture of natural simplicity and official astuteness which characterizes him, half unconsciously revealed the whole truth. He did not attempt to deny that the Resolution proposed was in every respect right; and while the mover had dwelt chiefly on the substantial saving to be effected by the projected reform, and the increased efficiency which it would give to the army, the Minister reinforced his arguments by dwelling on the great benefit which the soldier would derive both by the opportunity of accumulating a little store of his own, and by the escape from those habits of idleness which are the bane of the army. So strongly did Mr. Cardwell express himself in favour of the project as to make it at first sight unintelligible why he did not at once declare that the Resolution ought to be carried, and that it should immediately be enforced. This is what a Minister who was really master of his department could scarcely have stopped short of saying. But Mr. Cardwell was content to say that he should be "happy to permit any organization which would have the desired result;" as if the functions of a Minister who calls himself supreme in his office, and acknowledges his personal responsibility for everything done or neglected in his department, were confined to permitting the reforms which it is his duty to originate and enforce. But Mr. Cardwell knows his position. Notwithstanding certain brave words on occasion, he is not master of the army over which he nominally presides. What he thinks right he does not venture to direct, and he deprecates even the soundest resolutions of the House until he has ascertained whether he can carry with him the commanding officers whom a

strong Minister would control. Mr. Cardwell knows, no doubt, as other people know, that a certain number of commanding officers—not by any means the best of them—set their faces against soldier labour. He is not quite sure whether he will have the co-operation of the Horse Guards in battling with petty prejudices of this description. He would gladly do all in his power, but it might “materially impair discipline and do serious injury to the army if the commanding officers were in any way ignored in this matter.” One is tempted to ask whether the War Minister is the master or the servant of the commanding officers of regiments. Has he not a Commander-in-Chief as his principal subordinate, through whom to issue the unpalatable order that henceforth soldiers, when off parade, shall do the work that lies ready to their hand, instead of spending the whole of their spare time in smoking and in other, it may be less harmless, amusements? If the terrible commanding officers would loosen the bonds of discipline rather than give a cheerful obedience to a sensible order from the War Office, surely they would submit with a good grace if the mandate were addressed from the Horse Guards. Something of this sort seems to have occurred to Mr. Cardwell, but then he could not pledge himself to anything definite, for it was not for him to issue orders to his illustrious subordinate. What he could do he had done. He had communicated the information contained in the returns to the Commander-in-Chief, and “had expressed a hope that the attention of commanding officers might be drawn by a circular to the good resulting from the system.” If our army had been under a dual government this language would have been a matter of course, but for a Minister to express a hope that his chief subordinate will point out to certain inferior officers the advantages of taking a certain course, is a beautiful example of the delicacy and courtesy with which a Secretary of State, wielding supreme power in his department, finds it desirable to make his orders known. How many of the commanding officers addressed (if they ever are addressed on the subject) will see the advantage of setting their men to work, is a problem which Mr. Hanbury Tracy will have to solve before making up his mind as to the value of the assurances which he has received from Mr. Cardwell.

FRIENDLY SOCIETIES.

TO the professional advocates of “working-men’s rights” it is inconceivable that any one who dislikes Trade-Unions can be anything but an enemy of the working-man. Therefore everything that we or anybody else can say on behalf of working-men’s best interests will of course be set down as mere hypocrisy by those who traffic in their credulity. For all that, there are people in this world who can discriminate between the policy which would aid the working-man in making a decent provision against evil days and that which would make him simply the controlling and irresponsible partner in his employer’s business. No doubt, to the working-man himself a free system of Unionism, without any check upon picketing, opens out the prospect of the speediest and surest way to competence. But the weak point of the system is that it destroys the fruit which it would grasp; in its greed it kills the source of the wages which it hopes to increase. There comes a time when, under its pressure, the strain upon the wage-fund becomes so severe that capital, wages, and labour are all overturned in one common ruin, and the last condition of the working-man is worse than the first. It is perhaps less a sentiment of generosity than of enlightened self-interest which impels us to sympathize with every effort to promote the present and future comfort of the working-man by legitimate means. The most legitimate means are those by which he can be made himself to ensure his own future maintenance by present economy. As a rule, he has three courses open to him. He may by superior talent and energy save money, become a capitalist, and ascend from the ranks of the labourer into those of the employer; or he may become dependent on funds to which he has himself contributed; or he may go to the poor-house. The first of these is so exceptional a contingency that it may safely be left out of sight. The last is both so unfortunate and so unexceptional that the contemplation of its possibility only inspires the desire of averting its realization. The second is so desirable a contingency that one can only regret its infrequency, and seek to repair it by any means which present themselves. And to do this was the object of Mr. Richards’s motion, last week, respecting Friendly Societies.

We treated this subject some months ago; but it is of such great importance to the working-classes generally, and therefore also to the employing classes, that we do not hesitate to revert to the facts which we have already brought forward, and which Mr. Richards repeated on Friday week. No one who has not read the Report of the Registrar can form any notion of the number of the different Friendly Societies established throughout England, and of the members belonging to them. The Odd Fellows number 412,000 members; the Foresters over 300,000. The receipts of the former last year amounted to 499,000*l.*; of the latter, to 366,000*l.* These receipts look large, but they are not too large in proportion to the objects to which they are devoted. These are the relief of members during sickness or other physical incapacity; a superannuation fund, payable after sixty years of age; and, in some cases, provision for funeral expenses. Now when we consider how often—quite irrespectively of strikes—men are thrown out of work by accidents or

badness of trade, it is clear that a Benefit Society should have a good stock of money in hand to meet its ordinary demands. But then it has other demands which can only be computed after it has been some years in existence. These are on account of the superannuation fund. The pressure on this fund is much diminished by the cessation of members to contribute. As those who cease to subscribe cease to have any claim on the funds of the association, and as fresh members are perpetually admitted, there is, practically, less reason to apprehend failure under this head than a contrast between the prospectus of the association and the state of its chest would often suggest. But this is not so much a subject of congratulation to the societies as it is of regret that so large a proportion of the members should forego the most important benefit which their association holds out. And the knowledge of this fact must confirm the societies in a thriftlessness which seems habitual to many of them. Five hundred thousand pounds among 400,000 persons would be a large income if all the members were young, in good health, and constant work. But as this is not so, and a provision has to be made for the old, the disabled, and the unemployed, there is the greater urgency for a strict examination of accounts. The Foresters and the Odd Fellows have, respectively, a capital fund of one million sterling and two millions sterling each. These are large sums. But it is questionable whether, considering the time that they have been in existence, and the aggregate subscriptions which they have received in that time, each of the members ought not to have more than 3*l.* and 5*l.* respectively to divide among themselves on the immediate dissolution of these two Societies. Yet these figures represent the only sums divisible among them. Mr. Richards does not seem to have given the items of the expenditure, so that we do not know how much has been spent in management, and how much on the professed objects of the association. But we do know only too well the disproportionate vastness of the sums expended by many of these societies upon their management. For instance, the Royal Liver, a society quoted by Mr. Richards, for every 20*s.* it gives in relief, expends 15*s. 9d.* on management. Each of its committeemen receives a salary of 52*ol.* a year; at least, this was the scale of payment very recently. In another Liverpool society, the Victoria Legal, the expenses of management are nearly in the ratio of one pound to every pound expended on relief. The Registrar of Friendly Societies mentions twelve Burial Societies, which consist of one million insurers, insured for an amount of not less than three millions sterling, and of which the gross receipts for last year reached upwards of 247,000*l.* The amount paid for benefits assured was 138,151*l.*; the amount of expenses for management, 94,763*l.*; and the whole of the funds in the hands of treasurers, agents, and collectors was last year only about 181,000*l.*, that is, three-quarters of a year’s premiums. It is, moreover, worthy of notice that the monthly payments required by comparatively solvent Burial Societies would give to persons insuring with the Post-Office (if the latter insurances were reduced to 5*l.*) a larger sum than these societies promise to pay, and this would be guaranteed by Government security. For instance, for 1*d.* a week, or 4*s. 4d.* a year, while the Royal Liver pays 6*l.* and the Victoria Legal 7*l.* at death, the Post-Office pays 8*l. 6s. 8d.*; and, in cases where the “Royal Liver” pays 1*l. 7s. 6d.*, the “Victoria Legal” 2*l. 5s.*, and the Loyal Philanthropic 2*l. 10s.*, the Post-Office pays 2*l. 15s. 2d.* This is the aspect presented by societies in good repute. There is another aspect presented by many smaller societies and branch establishments, which fills the mind with dismay and pity at the unhappy lot of their contributors. We find one branch which, with forty-one members, possesses only 43*l.*; another with eighteen members and 17*l.*; another with forty-two members and 32*l.*; another with twenty members and 17*l.*; another with forty-one members and 14*l.*; another with forty members and 8*l.*; another with forty-eight members and 4*l.*; another with forty members and 5*l.*; another with fifty-three members and 8*l.*; another with thirty-seven members and 3*l.*; another with sixty-three members and 3*l.* We might multiply indefinitely the instances of beggarly assets. But we cannot forget the piteous import of these statistics. They all mean that the savings of the provident poor have been squandered on guzzling, jobbery, or, it may be, fraud; that men and women have toiled and stinted themselves in order to keep a respectable roof over their heads in their declining years, and that the fruits of this painful labour, and more painful parsimony, have been wrenched from them by the wickedness of designing, or by the carelessness of blundering, men; that, after a life spent in honest toil and hard thrift, nothing remains for them but the pauper’s dole, the pauper’s asylum, and the pauper’s funeral.

It needs no diffuse rhetoric to show that things should not be left in this state. If there is one object which appeals with equal strength alike to our feelings of benevolence and to our self-interest, it is the encouragement of prudence and economy on the part of the poor. Without these virtues there can be no self-respect, and without self-respect there will be no respect for law, order, property, rank, and dignities. Hitherto the bulk of the poor of England have taken with willingness and alacrity to a life of continuous toil. They have worked early and late to earn honest bread, and to maintain a respectable independence in the midst of poverty and hardship. They have generally looked with equal abhorrence on the beggar’s alms and the pauper’s allowance. And they have done their best to make their children follow their example. But they have had sad temptations and bad examples to resist; and

both the temptations and examples are on the increase. When they see how prodigally enormous wealth is squandered by the idle and luxurious on selfish indulgence, how lavishly it is flung away by an almost equally selfish liberality, how easily the thoughtless good-nature of the idle rich can be tricked into largesses of money, how quickly a clever lie may extort from the pockets of foolish opulence more than a whole day's wages—nay, how often petty and successful crime may escape detection—is it wonderful that they begin to compare their own hard lives not only with the luxurious lives of the wealthy, but even with the pleasant condition of the patterer, the beggar, and the mendicant impostor or thief? Is it wonderful that they should ask themselves in what way they are better requited than the scourges of society on whom they have hitherto looked with contempt? But if, in addition to the normal disabilities under which they live, they are forced to feel that discouragement of honest and laborious thrift which is imposed on them by the folly of pretentious or the rascality of fraudulent associations; if they see the fruits of their industry filched from them by bungling fools or designing knaves, one great mainstay of their virtues will be rudely shaken, and the general character of the working-classes seriously impaired. No greater social calamity can well be imagined than this would be. Take away an honest and cheerful hope from the labouring poor, and what would be the result? A desperate recklessness would seize upon them, blinding them to all sense of duty, of diligence, of prudence, and honesty; to the degradation of beggary and the disgrace of crime. They would all become what we see too many of them have become in the suburbs of London and other cities—the envious adulators of wealth which they covet, and would gladly appropriate, if they could. These are not the days in which it is either wise or seemly to aggravate the normal discomforts of the labouring poor; and if we wish to make them an industrious and contented community, we must do our best to secure for them the most powerful protection and support in their efforts to save from their earnings a pittance for the alleviation of disease, infirmity, and old age. And the best way of helping them is to remove every impediment which now obstructs their endeavours to help themselves. It is the business of Parliament to interfere with the management of their societies and clubs, only so far as to prevent them from being perverted to purposes of fraud and injustice; and this might be done by a proper registration and audit.

CIRCULARS.

THE introduction of a halfpenny book-post is now probably a simple question of time. When Mr. Graves's motion in its favour was met by the previous question, the intention of the Government was evident. Ministers were just now very much engaged, but here was this morning's paper, and would the gentleman be so good as to wait? Meanwhile it may not be amiss to compare the advantages and the drawbacks which a cheapened book-post will bring to the large class of men whose doors the postman never passes without some addition to their correspondence. The circular nuisance will be aggravated. Of this there can be no doubt, because it is mainly in the interest of the promoters of the nuisance that the reduction of the tax is proposed. At the same time, however, it will be abated and rendered less noxious by the process which aggravates it. The distinction between the letter and the circular will be marked by the stamp, and will be obvious at first sight. At least for half the year the halfpenny packet may pass immediately into the fire without the trouble of opening. During the fireless months the accumulation of waste paper will become somewhat more troublesome than before, and the sudden arrival of exceptionally hot spring weather coincidently with Mr. Graves's motion has been rather prejudicial to a calm consideration of the subject. But the Rag-collecting Brigade is a beneficent institution. It will call as regularly as the dustman, and it won't ask for beer. We see its passing hand-cart, and we bless the good Earl of Shaftesbury.

To men whose occupations involve frequent absences from home the halfpenny circular postage will bring a material saving both in pocket and in temper. At present the only direction which it is possible to leave behind one is, "Send on all my letters, but no book-post packets," and a heap of worthless advertisements and similar rubbish follows the unlucky traveller about the country, bringing with it no slight provocation when the letter-bag is opened. These things are mostly contrived so as to weigh less than half an ounce, and are enclosed in envelopes. A judicious wife or daughter may certainly do a good deal of weeding by the help of eye and touch. Silver-paper can be detected as easily as bank-notes or postage-stamps in an envelope; and tradesmen, and charitable or uncharitable institutions, who are weak enough or honest enough to put a die on their seals do much to save the trouble they give. The signature of a peer or a bishop, in what used to be the franking corner of the cover, will not mislead feminine eyes accustomed to lithographs, and the counter-acting device of a mitred seal, which has been adopted by some religious societies, has hardly been successful enough to induce the more secular institutions to follow suit with a coronet. But in spite of all precautions the circular enclosed in an envelope is a persistent and penetrating annoyance, which we may hope the halfpenny stamp and open cover will go far to diminish, even if they do not abolish it altogether. The operation of the change will in the main be confined—apart from a possible increase of circulation of some of the less bulky newspapers—to the dis-

tribution of circulars for trading purposes and for purposes of begging, borrowing, or stealing, and to the circulation of the immense and growing volume of milk-and-watery literature in the shape of tracts, reports, and cheap serials, of which the religious societies and Messrs. Cassell, Petter, and Galpin are the perennial sources. As nobody, however, will be troubled with Messrs. Cassell's serials, except so far as an occasional specimen copy may count, unless he chooses to order them, and as nobody will be presented with the reports and quarterly papers of the societies unless he happens to have subscribed to them, the only way in which the contemplated reduction of book-postage will be found to affect the general public is in the matter of circulars. And the result on the whole will be that everybody who likes to issue circulars will be able to do so at half the present rate of taxation; that everybody who likes to receive circulars will have the privilege of getting twice as many as before; and that educated and sensible men will be put to the cost of larger waste-paper baskets, and will repay themselves in a considerable economy of time, temper, and postage-stamps. So that things will be made generally comfortable all round if the Marquis of Hartington can get his annual 300,000*l.* back again. And the mystery of circulars will continue to exist, and to share with the mystery of Parliamentary petitions the disputed pre-eminence of being the most costly method as yet discovered for the manufacture of waste-paper.

The division of circulars which we have already given may be assumed as approximately exhaustive. By far the larger portion of the whole number consists of those which are issued for trading purposes. The object of nearly all the rest is either to beg or to borrow, or, implicitly, to steal. The small remaining proportion may be set down to some one or other of the various forms of mental delusion. Why it should occur to an anonymous correspondent in a remote country village—a lady, of course—to address to a dozen London barristers or merchants, or to the members of a Cathedral Chapter, a series of extracts from Tupper's *Proverbial Philosophy*, or of couplets in the cracker-bon-bon style of poetry, or of "leaflets" about things in general, is a problem of familiar experience which defies all attempts at rational solution. Of course, if a man chooses to crow over his newly-acquired honours of paternity in the first column of the *Times*, he must expect to get "a sight of good advice" in femininely-addressed envelopes from all sorts of quarters, together with the inevitable shower of advertisements from purveyors of baby-linen and perambulators, and of appeals from Orphan Asylums. But this is an early weakness which is easily outgrown.

Among the strangest and most grotesque forms in which the modern belief in circulars is exhibited, perhaps the most prominent is the superstition of lithographs. This singular worship, we are obliged to admit, has found very little acceptance among advertising tradesmen. Its devotees belong to a higher, and presumably a more intelligent, class of society. We regret to be obliged to state more precisely that they may even be found on the Episcopal benches in the House of Lords. It is painful to impute in such exalted quarters a definite belief in graven images, and a literal making of idols of stone for the common people to bow down to, but honesty and fairness leave no other course open to us. A letter in lithographed facsimile of a man's handwriting is a deliberate—we will not finish the sentence as we had intended, but will borrow from schoolboy language a milder phrase, and say it is an "awful chouse." For the theory of it is this. It is assumed that a man will not read a printed letter if he receives one, but that he will be at the trouble to read what another man has been at the pains to write. It is further imagined that an autograph letter from a man of mark will be read by the recipient with more attention than a letter written by a clerk or secretary and bearing only the great man's signature. Both these assumptions are true as matters of experience. Accordingly, in order to secure attention for the contents of the circular, which is usually one of the begging class, its promoters prevail on a man whose name is more or less known—in the religious world preference being given to a bishop—to write or to copy the letter which it is intended to circulate, and the manuscript so obtained is forthwith lithographed in facsimile, signature and all. The only possible interpretation of this cumbrous and costly proceeding lies in the measure of increased attention which the lithographed letter may be expected to receive, beyond that which would be accorded to a printed copy of the same words, and which of course is in direct proportion to the extent of the delusion which has been created. The actual result, we imagine, in a large number of cases is, that on the first glance at the well-known hue of the lithographic ink, the paper is thrown aside unread, with a touch of contempt added to the customary impatience with which the ordinary circular is consigned to the waste-paper basket or the fire. There is, indeed, one alternative interpretation, which to some minds might appear more tenable than it does to ourselves. It might be supposed that committees and secretaries had so little reliance on the public judgment of their own character, as to think that a merely printed letter bearing an influential signature would be taken for an invention of their own; and that, therefore, they felt it important to persuade their right honourable or right reverend supporter to write it out himself, in order that the handwriting might go in evidence of its genuineness. But in either case the fact remains, that the lithographed letter is a "dodge," only a little more artistic than the large-legacy-and-skittle-alley arrangement by which foreigners and country greenhorns are periodically victimized in London public-houses.

The lithograph, however, is capable of development in relation to some of the higher branches of advertising ingenuity. Not long ago a circular dated from Libourne in France, and commencing "Sir and honoured Pastor,—Previously to soliciting your powerful concurrence in the work of charity I have undertaken," was addressed to most, if not all, of the English benefited clergy. The front page was covered with signatures in facsimile of French Protestant clergymen, testifying to the great worth and excellence of the writer. "Now," the letter proceeded as the reader turned the page, "I am known to you, and I can explain my intention with the certainty of being patiently and favourably listened to." The writer proved to be a "commissioner for Bordeaux wines," and his "intention" was to offer the clergy ten per cent. on all the orders they could get for him among their parishioners, the money so secured "to be distributed to the poor" of their parishes, as "those gifts, accompanying your pious exhortations, while relieving much distress, may also stir up their zeal and contribute to their spiritual good." The French wine-merchant seemed to have heard how much value was supposed in England to attach to a list of names, and how very impressive the names become when they appear in more or less illegible handwriting. For a begging circular, indeed, a good list of names is held in some official quarters to be both indispensable and irresistible. You are interested in the building perhaps of a new school, or of a church, or in some similar undertaking, and you apply to the "Secretary of the Parent Society" in that case made and provided, for advice and assistance, pecuniary and otherwise. "You must have a committee," replies the oracle, "and you must issue a circular." The circular is the only known way of reaching the public eye at all; and the public eye will turn away in listless apathy from a circular without a committee. It is useless to suggest that a committee is a person or body of persons to whom a larger body has committed or entrusted the execution of some designed work. We have changed all that; and you must get together your committee by hook or by crook. If it is further intimated that there is scarcely any one in the neighbourhood with time or opportunity to undertake the management of the work, the reply is that this is of no sort of importance; you can have a "general committee," and then a "small working committee" besides. The "general committee," it is explained, are not expected to "work"; they are only wanted for the circular, and the circular is wanted for the public, and the public is wanted for the money. From all which it would appear that general committees and lithographic facsimiles have their *raison d'être* in the great formula of administration, "*Populus vult decipi, decipiatur.*" But there chances to exist another formula of at least equal weight, and possessing the advantage of being familiar in its English garb, bidding us "do to all men as we would they should do to us." And considering that nine educated men out of ten detest the circular system as always a troublesome and generally a serious nuisance, and look especially on a money-begging letter from a man of whom they never heard and who has no sort of claim upon them as little better than an under-bred impertinence, it is probable that the tenth will be found with very strong objections to taking part in the manufacture and issue of circulars in any shape, and will leave the benefit of Mr. Graves's halfpenny in this respect to the advertising tailors and quack doctors who may hope to make their fortunes by it.

REVIEWS.

PANTHEISTIC PHILOSOPHY.*

M. ADOLPHE FRANCK, celebrated for his labours in the broad field for dissertation offered by the Jewish "Kabbala," has collected into one volume a number of articles which on different occasions he contributed to the *Journal des Savants* and the *Journal des Débats*, adding to them an Academic Memoir, which he read before a grand assembly of the Institute. Though the articles reprinted from the journals are reviews of books written by authors who devote themselves to various branches of erudition and thought, they are united together into one compact whole by an intellectual link stronger than the thread of the bookbinder. M. Franck himself finds their union in their joint establishment of the truth that religion and philosophy cannot be substituted one for the other without detriment on both sides, and that, to borrow the language of mathematicians, they ought to be regarded as incommensurable quantities. Here he hardly does himself justice. The illustration of the truth in question, however important in his eyes, will seem but a secondary matter to his readers. The chief purport of his book, whether intentionally on his part or not, is to show the natural tendency of various systems, arising under the most diverse circumstances, to flow into Pantheism or Atheism, like so many rivers which, having their respective sources at all sorts of points, discharge themselves into one common ocean.

The quantity of information on recondite subjects which M. Franck puts within the reach of the general public, and the ease with which he describes and criticizes one system after another, are really marvellous, when we take into consideration the fact that the whole book is not nearly so large as an ordinary-sized novel. His reviews, moreover, have this advantage, that they

treat much of works with which none but very special scholars are likely to become immediately familiar, but of which many intelligent persons would desire to know something. Though he takes a critical position, M. Franck is more constantly employed on description than on criticism; and his descriptions, under the circumstances, may be pronounced singularly exhaustive.

We may illustrate our remarks by surveying the subjects brought successively under consideration by M. Franck. His first article, "*Le Mysticisme chez les Grecs*," takes its rise from the wonderful labours of M. N. Bouillet in translating the *Enneads* of Plotinus, and contains a lucid exposition and criticism of the doctrines taught by the chief of the Alexandrian school, in which the reaction of the better nature of the philosopher against some of the consequences of his own philosophy is pointed out in a very ingenious manner. The next article, "*Le Mysticisme et l'Alchimie*," the paper read to the Institute, treats largely of the first dawnings of modern experimental science, the human figure that rises into symbolical significance being the hastily adored and hastily abused Theophrastus Paracelsus. As the toils of M. Bouillet furnish the subject of the first article, so do those of M. S. Munk, who has very lately published for the first time the "*More-Nébouchim*" of Moses Maimonides, supply the basis to the third, "*Le Rationalisme religieux au douzième siècle*," which is perhaps the most interesting portion of the entire book. A survey of the works of a more modern thinker occupies the fourth article, "*Les Travaux bibliques et la nouvelle Religion de M. Joseph Salvador*," which is followed by another of far less interest on M. Alexandre Weill, bearing the not very appropriate title "*Moïse expliqué par Spinoza*." The sixth article, ostensibly a review of a work by M. de Gobineau, and entitled "*Une nouvelle Religion en Perse*," contains a complete history of the "Babys," a religious sect which sprang up in the East rather more than twenty years ago, and which, in spite of or in consequence of sharp persecution, still flourishes, to the scandal of both orthodox and heterodox Mahometans. The seventh article, "*Le Rationalisme religieux dans la France du dix-huitième siècle*," treats of a book called "*Les trois Filles de la Bible*," the author of which, M. H. Rodrigues, proposes to show that the three kindred religions, Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, will all be blended into one in the faith of the future. The last four articles—namely, two directed against Auguste Comte and Positivism, a review of one of M. Caro's works headed "*L'Idée de Dieu*," and the eleventh headed "*L'Immortalité de l'Âme*," in which M. Franck reviews a recent book by M. T. H. Martin, "*La Vie future suivant la foi et la raison*"—belong more than the rest to the department of modern philosophical controversy. The stand-point taken by M. Franck, when he directs his glance to the past and present, is that of a "spiritualist." Let not our table-rapping friends jump at this expression, and fancy that their forces are increased by the acquisition of a French *savant*, a member of the Institute, who has Alexandrian and Arabian philosophy at his fingers' ends, and can pour forth unlimited dissertations on the Kabbala. The spirit of M. Adolphe Franck will never be summoned from the vasty deep by their invocations. In French philosophical parlance, a spiritualist is one who believes in a personal Deity distinct from the world, and an immaterial soul distinct from the body, and susceptible of individual immortality. The modern thinkers with whom M. Franck expresses the greatest sympathy are MM. Caro and Martin, though the latter sins against that canon which denies the identification of religion and philosophy. With M. Martin, philosophical truth is not to be found beyond the pale of Roman Catholic doctrine; whereas M. Franck is of opinion that certain broad principles which lie at the basis of every religion worthy of the name may be legitimately vindicated by philosophy, which will however wisely leave untouched the details proper to particular creeds. What is the faith of M. Franck himself does not appear. There is not a line in his book that might not have proceeded from an orthodox Romanist or an orthodox Protestant, or—we may add—an orthodox Jew. When the battle is to be fought with Positivist, Pantheist, or Atheist, he is unquestionably a doughty warrior on the side of the faithful.

Though the component parts of M. Franck's work harmonize themselves into a compact whole, this is easily soluble into its primitive elements, and some readers will probably concentrate their attention on particular articles, to the exclusion of the rest. Curiosity will be most generally excited by the article on the "Babys," whose name the unsophisticated Briton will scarcely sever from engaging infantine associations till he is plainly impressed with the fact that the word "Bab," from which this is derived, denotes a door, and was bestowed upon himself by Mirza-Ali-Mohammed, the founder of the sect. Moreover, the very modern origin of the Babys, the rapidity with which they have spread, and their hostile attitude towards the Government, suggest a comparison with the Mormons of another hemisphere, and one can hardly contemplate the figure of Mohammed without reminiscences, however faint, of Joe Smith or Brigham Young. The very fact that, whereas the Mormons promote polygamy in the midst of a people who recognise monogamy as the basis of social order, the Babys discourage, if they do not absolutely prohibit, plurality of wives in a country where this is regarded as proper to the fitness of things, presents a point of resemblance as well as of difference between the prophets of the East and the West—both exhibiting the phenomenon of an exceptional body of fanatics setting themselves up in opposition to received social institutions. Again, Joe Smith and Mohammed have both earned the crown of martyrdom, while the followers of the latter gain a romantic interest

* *Philosophie et Religion*. Par Ad. Franck. Paris: Didier. 1869.

by including in their number a lady whose surpassing beauty gained for her the name Gouroet-Oul-Ayn (Solace of the Eyes), and who makes a figure not unlike that of a Deborah or a Judith. In the theology and moral code of the Babys there is not much that is of a distinctive character; but their theory of divine appointment is certainly curious. As Mahomet acknowledged Moses and Jesus as predecessors, so is he, in addition to them, acknowledged by the new sect; but the "Bâb," while he is the embodied spirit of prophecy, does not predominate above his fellow-creatures, since he is accompanied by eighteen assessors, of both sexes, who are equally inspired with himself, though their functions are various. The number eighteen is selected because it is represented by the letters that form the word denoting the "living God," and when to these the "Bâb" is prefixed as an additional unity or "point," we have an expression that signifies at once the divine unity and the active principle of creation. Thus we have a singular development of that theory of a spiritual union between founder and disciple which is noticeable in other religions. If we are rightly informed, not only union but unity is professed by the spiritual oligarchs of the Babys. There is but one soul in the nineteen persons, who are absolutely inseparable from each other and immortal, being altogether the most complete emanation of the Deity. If one of them, in the human sense, dies, his share in the divine spirit is at once transmitted to an appointed successor. Such a metempsychosis is altogether distinct from that taught by Pythagoras or Plato, but M. Franck finds its prototype in the Kabbala, and communicates the fact that the new sect has found partisans among the most accomplished Jews in Persia.

It is perhaps in Judaism, as manifested in connexion with Alexandrian philosophy, that M. Franck is most at home, and his paper on Moses Maimonides, which is the longest in the collection, is also the most instructive. As it is not likely that any district of Persia, bursting into spiritual activity in the midst of the nineteenth century, will have any great effect on the intellectual future of the civilized world corresponding to that of the Egyptian Athens, the Babys will very likely depart as they have come, like shadows, under the pressure of stronger influences, and any temporary importance they may obtain may merely be set down among the many "flukes" of history; but the purport and the operation of Alexandrian philosophy must be thoroughly mastered by any one who would acquire a scientific knowledge of the movements of thought in the middle ages, whether they manifest themselves under a Jewish, a Mahometan, or a Christian exterior. Especial care must be taken by the student not to be misled by the names Platonist and Peripatetic into a belief that his Plato and his Aristotle implicitly contain all that he is required to know. He had better start by so varying the vowels of the first name as to change it into "Plotinist," and with respect to the second, by keeping clearly in view the fact that the Stagyrte took a new shape when seen through Arabian spectacles. The difference between the old and new founder of Platonism would have been rendered most palpably manifest had the petition of Plotinus to the Roman Emperor for permission to establish a "Platonopolis" in Campania led to the desired result. M. Franck says in his first paper:—

Il est bien regrettable que sa prière soit restée sans effet, et que Platonopolis n'ait jamais vu le jour. Nous aurions vu une fois à l'épreuve cette utopie fameuse, sur le modèle de laquelle ont été conçues toutes les autres. Mais d'après ce que nous savons du caractère et des idées de Plotin, il n'est pas difficile de dire ce qui serait arrivé. Au lieu de la société théocratique et guerrière, au lieu des mœurs plus que faciles et des amours plus que libres que rêve l'auteur de la République, nous aurions eu une association monastique comme celle des Esséniens, des thérapeutes ou des prêtres de Bouddha. Cela seul nous montre la différence qui sépare les deux philosophes, les deux époques et les deux écoles.

In the article on Moses Maimonides we have a picture of a learned Jew anxious to adhere to the faith of his fathers, and perceiving, subject to certain modifications in favour of a creation, a whole system of Arabian peripateticism embodied in the Hebrew Books of the Law. The polemics, not only with adversaries, but with oneself, that arise under this strange position, the difficulties that obtrude themselves to be solved by difficulties equally great, are reviewed by M. Franck with singular completeness; and probably his book stands alone in the world as conveying the largest possible amount of information concerning Aristotle among the Arabs, in the fewest possible pages.

There is one portion of the article on Maimonides that will be found interesting by many readers who do not greatly care for metaphysical speculation, and that is the learned Jew's justification of those precepts in the Mosaic code which seem merely arbitrary to the Gentile mind. To effect this justification, Maimonides explained the external circumstances amid which the religion of the Israelites was placed in its infancy, deriving his information from a work on "Nabatean Agriculture" which for a long time was known to Europe through his citations only, but on which recent investigations have thrown new light. The "Agriculture" teaches him the abominations against which the Hebrew legislator had to contend when first he established his code. To the philosophical objector who finds an inconsistency in the burnt-offerings and sacrificial acts required with so many ceremonial details by so perfect a being as the Deity of the Israelites, Maimonides replies that, in the days of Moses, the habit of offering sacrifices was universal among mankind, and could not possibly have been avoided by the chosen race. The demand for burnt-offerings was a compliance with a prevailing error, but a reformation was so far effected by Moses that he required for the true God the sacrifices that had previously been offered to Hebrew deities.

The prophets of an after-time, who spoke slightly of "bulls' flesh and the blood of goats," and the like outward signs of devotion, and exalted at the expense of these the worth of internal piety, revealed the spirit of the legislator, while seeming to oppose him in the letter; and from the fact that Moses authorized sacrifices at Jerusalem alone, while any spot was fitted for prayer, Maimonides infers that he sought to throw a practical difficulty in the way of the former. Moreover, if sacrifice is in itself, according to Maimonides, a compliance with heathen usage, there is an opposition to heathenism in the peculiarity of the offerings made by the Israelites. The ram, the bull, and the goat were objects of adoration among the peoples with whom the Hebrews came in contact, and it was the most atrocious impiety to put them to death. Ordering their immolation at Jerusalem, Moses marked out the Israelites from their neighbours by exalting into a holy act the very deed that was considered a crime elsewhere. The fact also is to be considered, that the animals offered on the Hebrew altar were within the reach of the poorest class, and here is another contrast with the expensive rites insisted on by the heathens. The exceptional severity, with regard to magic, of a code generally humane in its provisions, is accounted for by the intimate connexion between magic, astrology, and idolatry among the Chaldeans, and also by the extreme licentiousness with which the practice of occult arts was accompanied. As it was the very mission of the chosen people to destroy idolatry, all that tended that way was necessarily treated with peculiar rigour. For the minutest details of the code reasons on a similar principle are found by the ingenious apologist. Why are the fruits of trees that have been planted for fewer than three years pronounced impure, as we read in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus? Precisely because these were the fruits that were considered most acceptable to the gods by their benighted worshippers.

While tracing the connexion between different schools of philosophy, M. Franck is careful to convey the sound opinion that the similarity of two theories is no necessary proof of the derivation of one from the other. An opportunity is afforded him when he approaches the commonly received opinion that Alexandrian philosophy was the result of a contact between the philosophic intellect of Greece and the religious spirit of the East. He sees in mysticism generally a growth natural to humanity, without respect to geographical or physiological considerations, and ingeniously divides it into three species. Of these the first is the "mysticism of thought" (*mysticisme de la pensée*), the result of a logical operation which, by the abstraction of particular qualities, arrives at an incomprehensible unity, into which the individual mind is itself merged, as into an illimitable sea. Let us observe, however, that the word mysticism can never be employed unless something like feeling enters into a mental process. Under the name "substance," the abstract unity was grasped much more firmly by Spinoza than by Plotinus, to whom it was clouded over by a series of intermediate emanations. Yet Plotinus was a mystic of the first water, and Spinoza (as M. Franck admits elsewhere) was not a mystic at all. Why? Simply because the Dutch Jew quietly contemplated a logical result, whereas Plotinus was absorbed into his unity by "ecstasies." The second species of mysticism, that of love (*mysticisme de l'amour*), seems at first completely foreign to Pantheism, inasmuch as it takes its source in a loving admiration of the Divine perfections. This is the mysticism that is to be found among Christian enthusiasts of various sects, in Tauler, Saint Martin, Fénelon, and others; and indeed, without a tinge of it, a real devotion of the heart is scarcely to be conceived. Of this mysticism, without using or thinking of the word, even the coldest preacher hopes to awaken a modicum in his congregation. But when it reaches its highest degree of intensity it becomes a burning desire for absorption into the Deity, and a sort of sentimental Pantheism is the result. The mysticism of despair, which is the third species named by M. Franck, finds its expression in Buddhism, the devotee seeking, in the state of self-annihilation called Nirwāna, a refuge from the sufferings of this life. It is a common opinion that Buddhism is pure Atheism converted into a positive religion, but M. Franck warns us not to adopt this opinion too hastily in judging of a faith professed by several millions of believers. There must be something in the Nirwāna, after all, that is not a mere nothing, else how could the personal Buddha, after remaining plunged into it for ages, start out of it again to edify and cheer his followers? The desultory manner in which we have found it necessary to review *La Religion et la Philosophie* bears witness to the comprehensive character of a work which will amply reward the patient and thoughtful reader.

CUSSANS' HANDBOOK OF HERALDRY.*

IT speaks much for the advance of common sense that some rays of it should have made their way even among the students of heraldry. Mr. Cussans still holds that heraldry is a science—a professed heraldic student could hardly for very shame give up the word—but he is content to rest the claims of his science to any degree of attention on very rational grounds indeed. He does not call on us to believe, after the manner of the elder heralds, that his science contains any profound virtues and inscrutable mysteries; he only tells us, what is perfectly true, that a know-

* The Handbook of Heraldry, with Instructions for tracing Pedigrees and deciphering ancient MSS., also Rules for the Appointment of Liveries, &c. &c. By John E. Cussans. London: Hotten. 1869.

ledge of heraldry often enables us to fix the dates of events, buildings, and documents, that by its help we may often make out a pedigree and sometimes even recover an estate. Heraldry is, in short, the knowledge of the way in which people adorned their shields, and is in itself one of the smaller branches of antiquarian knowledge, just like the knowledge of the different kinds of boots and head-dresses that people wore in any particular age. Let no one think that we are mocking at the boots and head-dresses. Far from it; though a knowledge of them is in itself a small matter, it often throws incidental light upon much greater matters. The shape of a toe, whether round or pointed, often marks the date of a monumental effigy, and the head-dress of a corbel may often fix the age of a church or a castle. The knowledge of the decorations of shields is knowledge of exactly the same kind, only accident has given it a wider range and has enabled it to throw more constant light on historical matters than the kindred kinds of knowledge. The fashion of boots and of head-dresses never became fixed in certain families. There was no time when every Howard wore round toes, while every Talbot wore pointed toes. If it had happened so, the difference in the form of the boot would have been an hereditary distinction of exactly the same nature as the armorial bearings on the shield. In this last case it did happen so; it became customary for the son to mark his shield in the same way in which his father had marked his. Certain arbitrary rules for the marking of shields gradually arose, and a knowledge of those arbitrary rules forms the "science" of heraldry. The claim of heraldry to be called a science is of course ridiculous; but if heraldry will be content to rank as the most important of those small branches of antiquarian knowledge which do yeoman's service to history, those services will always be thankfully acknowledged. It ranks decidedly above the knowledge of watches and brass pans; it ranks as decidedly below the knowledge of coins—a knowledge which is not so much a hand-maid of historical knowledge as a real branch of historical study.

A herald, almost from the nature of the case, generally lives in a world of his own, a world unlike any world past, present, and we may safely add, future, and a world specially impervious to historical evidence. After all, the herald is not much worse than a certain style of lawyers. If the herald believes all that he finds in his *Gwillim*, so we have known lawyers who thought it wrong to doubt that William the Conqueror introduced the feudal system—whatever that is—in a particular Council in a particular year, because forsooth Blackstone says that he did so. Now Mr. Cussans's merit is that he does not look on heraldry as something eternal and immutable, but as something which had a beginning, and he knows pretty well what its beginning was. He is content to date his "science" from the thirteenth century. He rejects all such nonsense as the arms of Edward the Confessor; he shrewdly remarks that, if armorial bearings had been in use in the eleventh century, we should have seen them in the Bayeux Tapestry; he shows that personal bearings came in in the twelfth century, and hereditary bearings not till the thirteenth. He says with some point that if William the Conqueror had had a shield with two leopards or with anything else, his son Robert could not have unhorsed him without knowing who he was. This point, however, raises another question; how far did a nose-piece hinder a man from being known? for it is certain that William's face was not hidden by the full vizor of later times. And though one is a little disturbed at Sir Matthew Hale being called Sir William, it is comforting to find that Mr. Cussans holds that his assertion "that no Englishman was permitted by the Conqueror to retain any landed property in England" "is refuted by the pages of Domesday Book." So Thurkill of Warwick is a real man in Domesday, but whether he was "the ancestor of the Ardens of Warwickshire" is a point too subtle for us. "County families" are a subject too sacred for the mere historian. But it is very comforting to find that Mr. Cussans has "recently examined" William's charter to Deorman in the library of the City corporation. And the following remarks in a book of heraldry are really delightful:—

If the pedigree can be traced up to the middle of the Seventeenth century, and the family were at that time entitled to Armorial Bearings, the *Visitations of the Heralds* will carry it about three generations higher. The real labour now commences; and unless the family were at that time—the Sixteenth Century—either noble, or constituted a portion of the Landed Gentry, further research is almost useless. County Histories, Documents in the Public Record and State Paper Offices, and, in some cases, Municipal Archives and Monastic Chartularies, must now be carefully and patiently examined; the genealogist bearing in mind that no reliance can be placed on the orthography of proper names, either of persons or places. Except in a few rare instances, it is utterly impossible to trace a Pedigree beyond the time of Richard the Second; and those persons who assert that their Ancestors "came over with the Conqueror," derive their authority chiefly, if not wholly, from Tradition, or their own imagination. For the same reason that it is difficult for such persons to prove their assertion, it is equally difficult to refute it.

What, then, becomes of Sir Bernard Burke's friend who came to meet the Conqueror riding on a bull?

On the other hand, we have a few things against Mr. Cussans. In the very page where he refutes Sir Matthew Hale, and tells us about Deorman and Thurkill, he tells us, what certainly is not recorded by William of Poitiers, that "one of the first official acts of William of Normandy, after his accession to the throne of England, was to assume actual possession of all the land." And it is equally mysterious when we read that "Charlemagne, who was contemporary with the first of our Saxon kings [Ælle of Sussex?], is said to have added to the royal seal of France the words *DEI GRATIA*." After this, one is not amazed to read:—

According to some authorities, a double-headed Eagle—as that of Russia—is blazoned as an *Imperial Eagle*. This, however, is manifestly incorrect; for the Eagles of Prussia and France are no less *Imperial*, although they have but one head.

King William certainly has more chance than other men of being crowned either at Frankfurt or at Aachen, but no telegram has reached us to say that the ceremony has taken place. Just before the eagle was said to be the arms of Austria, and in p. 207 it becomes the arms of Germany. When will people learn that the arms of Austria are a rampant lion? They may be seen on the walls of the *Schlachtkapelle* at Sempach, and on more than one torn and bloody banner in the arsenal at Luzern.

Mr. Cussans is hardly so lucky as we should have expected in the matter of titles. For example, it is odd to be told (p. 156) that "the son and daughter of a Duke would"—under any circumstance except that of the daughter marrying a Marquess—"be styled Marquess and Marchioness respectively." What is meant probably is that she ranks with—or rather immediately after—Marchionesses. Here again is a jumble, though one does not wonder at it, when one sees in reports of Drawing-rooms, the daughters of Dukes, the wives of Barons, and the wives of Knights all put together as "Ladies".—

The title of *Lady* is used equally indiscriminately, for not only are the wives and daughters of certain Peers thus addressed, but also the wives of Baronets and Knights. These last, although permitted by courtesy to bear the title of Lady, are not allowed to prefix their Christian to their family name, for this is the peculiar privilege and mark of distinction of the daughters of Peers. It was not until the reign of Henry the Eighth that Kings' daughters were styled Princesses. Previous to that date they were simply designated as "Lady." Thus, we find the daughters of Henry the Seventh were styled, "The Lady Margaret" and "The Lady Mary." Even the daughters of Henry the Eighth were occasionally styled the "Lady Mary" and the "Lady Elizabeth:" and in a tract on the Marriage of the daughter of James the First with Prince Frederick, she is spoken of as the "Ladie Elizabeth."

Now, as Miss Yonge, if no one else, has taught us, the wives of Baronets and Knights ought to use the Christian name, but then it should be with the title of Dame, and not with the title of Lady. It is strange that Mr. Cussans does not know how very modern is the affectation of calling every daughter of the Sovereign "Princess" instead of "Lady," a German device at which Englishmen kicked as late as the time of George the Second. About Henry the Eighth's daughters Mr. Cussans is probably led away by the fact that Mary was—strangely enough—created "Princess of Wales." Nor do we understand what is meant by saying that "the present Prince is the first who has enjoyed the title of Duke of Saxony, which was conferred on him in 1841." It could not well be conferred on him before, but surely the Prince is "Duke of Saxony," one of many "Dukes of Saxony," which no Prince of Wales ever was before him, for the simple reason that no Prince of Wales before him was the son of a "Duke of Saxony." But just before we read how the late Prince Consort quartered the arms of England instead of impaling them, which "has been justly described as an heraldic anomaly," which it certainly was. We have also to thank Mr. Cussans for pointing out the absurdity of the popular belief that "all the members of the Royal Family"—whatever the Royal Family is—are entitled to be called Royal Highness. The following passage is startling:—

Even the eldest son of the Duke of Edinburgh would be legally entitled but to the qualification of "Highness," and, by an Act passed in 1399, would yield precedence to Dukes; and his younger sons, by a subsequent Act, would give place to Earls. The issue of such younger sons, although by courtesy they would probably be addressed by a higher title, would be simply Esquires.

Now an Esquire, and even a Duke's younger son, would need a surname. Even the Duke's eldest son needs one on formal occasions, as is more largely expressed by Mr. Cussans in page 194:—

A Duke is styled "Your Grace," and "Most Noble;" his eldest son takes his second title, which is usually that of Marquess. This title, however, is only accorded by courtesy: thus the Duke of Devonshire's eldest son, who, as the representative for the Northern Division of the County of Lancaster, is officially styled "The Right Honourable Compton Spencer Cavendish, commonly called Marquess of Hartington."

Alas, thanks to Murphy and Co., Mr. Cussans's faith in the electors of North Lancashire was doomed to be disappointed, though the Radnor boroughs have since redressed the wrong. But still we do not understand why the description given applies to Lord Hartington "as representative" for any place, rather than in any other character that he may fill.

We will end with a few curiosities, old and new. One has heard of a beautiful woman ending in a black fish; heraldry has, in one instance at least, condemned the royal leopards to the like fate. What are the arms of the borough of Great Yarmouth, which once sent two members to Parliament, but which does so no longer? Every one who knows the fame of Yarmouth bloaters will recognise the propriety of its ancient coat, *Three herrings naiant in pale*. But there is a process in heraldry called "Dimidiation," which in English means splitting a thing in half. This was "the most ancient method of Marshalling two coats on the same Shield," and "was effected by simply dividing both Coats per pale, and joining the Dexter half of one to the Sinister half of the other." Now to the herrings of Yarmouth were "added, by Dimidiation, *Three Lions of England*." This produces what Mr. Cussans truly calls a "curious combination." If the lion or leopard simply had a fish's tail, making, so to speak, a *mer-leopard*, well and good; but the shield is so carefully "dimidiated" that the leopards have their tails and their hind legs sticking on to the stump of Dagon in a way to which griffins, wyverns, and cockatrices are a trifle.

Mr. Cussans very naturally makes himself merry with some of the absurdities of modern heraldry, though he tells us in a most becoming spirit that "it is with no intention of casting ridicule on the science of heraldry that he adduces these instances, but only to show how the most noble institutions may become degraded, and be rendered contemptible when perverted from their legitimate purposes." Well, it is, as Mr. Cussans says, hard to draw such arms as these, the augmentation granted to Lord Nelson:—

On a chief undulated argent, waves of the sea; from which a palm-tree issuant, between a disabled ship on the dexter, and a battery in ruins on the sinister, all proper. Then, for crest: On a wreath of the colours, upon waves of the sea, the stern of a Spanish man-of-war, all proper; thereon inscribed, "San Josef."

Then follow the arms of the Tetlows of Lancaster, granted in 1760, which Mr. Cussans pronounces to be "perhaps even still more preposterous":—

Azure; on a Fess argent, five musical lines sable, thereon a Rose gules, between two escallops of the third, in chief a Nag's head erased of the second, between two Crosses crosslet or; and in base a Harp of the last. Crest: On a Book erect gules, clasped and ornamented or, a silver Penny on which is written the Lord's Prayer; on the top of the book, a Dove proper, holding in the beak a crowquill Pen sable. Motto: *Premium virtutis honor.*

Mr. Cussans adds:—

This heraldic curiosity is said to have been granted in commemoration of the grantee's brother having written the Lord's Prayer on a silver penny. Even Turner, who delighted so much in strange aerial effects, would have been puzzled to paint the crest of the Tongue family: On an Oak-tree, a nest with three young Ravens, fed with the dew of Heaven, all proper.

Elsewhere he tells us:—

In the Arms of Sir John Herschel, for example, the imagination of the emblazoner is seriously taxed; they are: Argent: on a mount vert, a representation of the forty-feet reflecting Telescope, with its apparatus proper; on a Chief Azure, the Astronomical symbol of "Uranus" or "Georgium Sidus," irradiated or. Such Armorial monstrosities are, however, extremely rare; and to the credit of the Science be it said, that no such composition is to be found of an earlier date than the Seventeenth century.

There is an amusing chapter on American heraldry. The arms of the original thirteen States Mr. Cussans allows to pass muster, though some of them seem to us rather queer. But let Mr. Cussans speak of those of the newest States:—

Old Guillim himself would have been sorely puzzled had he seen the following blazon of the Arms of Kansas: Two Ox-teams and Wagons, between a Man ploughing in sinister foreground, and Indians hunting Buffaloes in dexter middle-distance; on sinister, a River and double-funnelled, hurricane-decked Steamer; behind Mountains in distance, the Sun rising: on sky, in half-circle, thirty-seven Stars, all proper. Motto: *Ad Astra per aspera.*

I confess myself utterly unable to do justice to a verbal blazon of the Arms of Oregon. Perhaps the following will give some idea of this heraldic curiosity: On a Fess, the words, The Union; in chief, a Landscape, an Ox-wagon, a Deer, Trees, Mountains, and Prairie; in distance, the Sea, thereon a sailing Ship and a Steamer; in base, a Plough, Rake, Scythe, Garbs, &c.—which I may venture to blazon as, all any how.

We do not exercise ourselves in great matters which are too high for us, so we decline to follow Mr. Cussans into such profound subjects as the "appointment" of liveries and hammercloths. But there are a good many curious things scattered up and down his little book, and though he has made some slips here and there, he has shown that a man may study heraldry without altogether bidding farewell to common sense.

THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.*

THIS is an unpretending little book, containing a short course of lectures delivered to a working-men's club by Mr. Reginald Palgrave. Any attempt at antiquarian research would of course be out of place in such a work, although Mr. Palgrave speaks as one full of information upon all matters of Parliamentary history and practice. It would be equally out of place were he to indulge at any length in the political speculations which naturally arise from a consideration of the House of Commons, or to do more than express incidentally his admiration for the part which that House has played, and continues to play, in the British Constitution, thereby rendering us, as is well known, the dread and envy of the world. Besides the various questions which interest philosophers and historical inquirers, there is a large number of facts in which the ordinary Englishman may well be excused for taking a keen interest. What the House looks like, what visible signs of legislative wisdom are marked upon the brows of its leaders, what occasional lapses into levity relieve the profoundly serious character of its ordinary labours, and many similar bits of information should doubtless be amusing to the working-man. Nor will severer critics look upon their curiosity with disdain. Around any old institution there gathers in the course of time an immense growth of what the vulgar call "shop." Undergraduates pass from generation to generation legends as to old University practices, little time-honoured jokes about proctors and bulldogs, stories of the dons of former days, and a mass of floating anecdote which is inexpressibly interesting to those immediately concerned. So the doings of courts and kings are regarded with an interest which is not all snobbish; rational beings may like to know at odd times what are the ceremonies which surround the august presence of Majesty with a visible halo, and what the bodily presence and the personal habits of various historical characters may have resembled. Similarly, the House of Commons has a whole library of gossip of its own. We like to hear of cele-

brated debates when a gentleman prefaced his remarks by saying that it was his usual time for getting up in the morning; of the times when the sanctity of the legislative chamber was invaded or threatened with invasion by kings or mobs, and of the less remarkable incident, on the 14th of May, 1666, when "a strange spanyell of mouse colour came into the House"; of that notable appearance of the rough-looking gentleman upon whose hand Sir P. Warwick noted certain small specks of blood; and of the later occasion when the gravity of the House was hopelessly upset by a member accidentally carrying off the wig of the miser Elwes on his swordhilt. Traditional lore of this kind accumulates rapidly, and we may suppose it handed down from one venerable usher to another, in whose eyes the smallest trifle connected with the sacredness of Parliament gained unspeakable sanctity. From oral tradition, from the Journals of the House, and from numerous memoirs and histories, Mr. Palgrave has made a sufficiently happy selection to enlighten the working-men of Reigate. The question remains whether they will catch the contagion of his enthusiasm, or come to the conclusion that members of the House of Commons, admirable as they may be in many respects, are after all human. It must be confessed that some of the jokes sound rather small when transplanted from their natural soil; and that we fancy, as we so often do in reading reports of trials, that members of Parliament, like barristers, are mighty easy of amusement. Neither do we at a distance quite share the awe so graphically described in this entry from the Journals of 1601. "Mr. Zachary Lock began to speak, but for very fear shook, so that he could not proceed, but stood still awhile, and at length sat down." What is there so tremendous in the collection of a few hundred gentlemen, that Mr. Zachary Lock and his like should shake for very fear? or what is the secret of the fascination which reduced a later orator to confine himself to this remarkable utterance:—"Mr. Speaker, Sir, I am astonished! Sir, I am astonished! Sir, I am astonished!" Did not that honourable member reflect, when he went home, that he had been astonished at a very terrestrial, not to say a very ordinary, phenomenon?

If these gentlemen shared Mr. Palgrave's opinions of the House, we may to some extent sympathize with the terror which seems to have struck them to the soul. The writer, he tells us, of a newspaper article expects to move his hearers; yet the world goes about its business as though he had never thundered. The divine may preach, but on Monday morning his congregation will wear their weekday faces. The man of science writes a book which affects men's thoughts for all futurity; yet the passers before his door look mightily unmoved. "But," says Mr. Palgrave, "the member of Parliament by his vote fills granaries with corn, the very streets with merchandise; he can by means of Public Health Acts cleanse populous cities; he can note how pestilence is warded off by measures he has proposed; or he may procure education for thousands of children, who else would die depraved." If the member can do all these and many other wonderful things, it is a pity he does not do them a little oftener. The argument sounds a little like saying that powder can do nothing; it merely makes a flash and a noise, and the next moment nothing is left but an unpleasant smell; but a cannon-ball can knock a hole in a ship and send it to the bottom for ever. The House of Commons is not quite independent of propulsion from the press, or the pulpit, or even from men of science. Mr. Palgrave, however, gives us to understand that the "true attraction" of the House lies in this power of doing unlimited good—or mischief. The intellectual pleasure of listening to debates is great; the interest and excitement of political contest is absorbing; but, above all things, it is the desire of conferring public benefits upon a grateful world which stimulates the noble anxiety of our upper classes to obtain a seat. Bribery and corruption within the walls has long since vanished; there is no longer, as in old days, a public office where members may repair to receive from 200*l.* to 500*l.* for a vote; the members have given up the degrading practice of eating nuts and oranges on the floor of the House; the Speaker of the House sums up in himself all the virtues which become a legislator in our day; those exalted personages do not "merely represent good order, dignity, and justice; such is their life and conduct, that they are those virtues personified"; never again shall we see a Speaker held forcibly down in his chair by a couple of stalwart county members, or hear him put to the House a motion that he has been guilty of a high crime "for receiving a gratuity of 1,000 guineas." And the members are worthy of their Speaker. They are patterns, not only of patriotism, but of dignity, decorum, and all the virtues which should adorn a Legislature. Once a member made faces in the face of the Speaker, and scornfully popped out his tongue at him; another time one came behind the Speaker as he was putting the question, and in "a loud and violent manner" cried "Baugh! in the Speaker's ear, to his great terror and affrightment." Such things, we are happy to say, are quite out of the question nowadays; and, we add with pleasure, that Mr. Palgrave has attributed their suppression partly to a right cause—that is, to the presence of reporters in the gallery. For in this mighty improvement Parliament has not stood alone. The press has also grown virtuous:—

How is it [asks Mr. Palgrave] that the Press and the Parliament work together so unselfishly and so well? This is the cause. Our leading newspapers are not class newspapers, the advocates of one separate interest, or of one separate portion of the country. Nor is Parliament the advocate of one separate class or interest distinct from the general interest. Thus newspapers and Parliament act with one common motive; they are inspired by one common spirit; they think and speak for all of us alike.

Thrice-blessed country! With the *Times* and the *Telegraph* and

* *The House of Commons; Illustrations of its History and Practice.* By Reginald F. D. Palgrave. London: Macmillan & Co. 1869.

a reformed Parliament combined in one unselfish desire for the common good, free from all suspicion of party spirit or private ambition, labouring by day and night to spread knowledge, civilization, and good feeling to the furthest borders of the land, we begin to wonder dimly how it is that we can still require laws to suppress pauperism, crime, or ignorance. Why, we ask, have we not already entered a political millennium? The only answer seems to be, that the bad effects of the old days, when members ate nuts and oranges, and held down Speakers by the arms, have not quite disappeared from among us, and that more patriotic endeavours are still needed before we can reap the fruits of our lofty philanthropy. Yet we should be doing injustice to Mr. Palgrave if we did not admit that he thinks well of the old nut-cracking Parliaments, and thinks that they did some good in their rough way. Perhaps they were even at times a little more efficient than the present body, which is not seldom oppressed by the huge accumulation of its benevolent enterprises, and suffers from a plethora of public spirit. However this may be, we will make one confession. Mr. Palgrave dilates forcibly and properly on the providential escape of Parliament from that infamous Guy Faux and his associates. He trembles to think of the fearful consequences which would have ensued if King and Queen and Prince and both Houses of Parliament had been summarily blown to atoms. It is little use speculating on might-have-beens, but of course we fully agree with him that it was fortunate that the experiment was never tried. Yet, putting aside for a moment all moral considerations, and regarding the plot from a purely æsthetic point of view, it is impossible not to feel a momentary pang of regret at its premature discovery. Everybody concerned is dead by this time, and would have been so in any case; and it is almost a pity that so gigantic a crime should not have added one more picturesque element to our history. All the murders commemorated by De Quincey and other students of the æsthetics of crime would have sunk into utter insignificance by the side of so tremendous a catastrophe. The Gunpowder Plot, for boldness of design, for neatness of conception, and for thorough completeness and harmony of detail, might have challenged comparison with any event recorded in history. Its failure causes as great a loss to historians as would have been the loss to artists had Raffaele and Michael Angelo and a few of their contemporaries been strangled in their cradles. We repeat, to prevent mistakes, that we are fully convinced that this longing is decidedly wrong; and had we known of the plot in time, no weak desire for dramatic effect should have restrained us from giving full information to James or his Ministers; but even Mr. Palgrave will admit that it would have had incidentally the good effect of adding one very exciting chapter to his amusing little book.

BLUNT ON THE ENGLISH REFORMATION.*

MR. BLUNT is a true and loyal son of the Church of England, and has done that Church good service by several of his publications; but, in attempting to write the history of the Reformation, he has undertaken a task beyond his powers. He does not possess sufficient acquaintance with the works of the so-called Reformers to be able to appreciate their tone of mind or the systems of theology which they represent, nor does he appear to us in this volume to have the grasp of mind necessary in order to form a true estimate of the bearings of European politics upon the subject. We do not complain that he writes from an Anglican point of view. An English clergyman belonging to his school of thought could scarcely do otherwise; and though an historian should always strive to be impartial, no history could be written to interest people by a writer who was not possessed of his own view, and, we may add, entirely penetrated with the conviction that his view was the true one. The fault we find with Mr. Blunt, then, is not so much on the score of misrepresentation of facts, for he has in general succeeded in placing them before the reader with more impartiality than most of those who have handled this difficult subject before him; but rather that his horizon is far too limited, and that his mental gaze does not take in the true proportions of historical events. Again, there is a conspicuous absence from his pages of a true appreciation of the characters of the persons who figured in the great movement of the reign of Henry VIII. He does not judge them wrongly for the most part, as far as he goes, but he is deficient in the power of estimating them. In much of his defence of Wolsey, and his description of Henry's rapacity, as well as in the incidental remarks in which he condemns the time-serving of Cranmer or the selfishness of Cromwell, we quite concur. But neither of these two latter personages, who played so important a part in the changes effected in the last twenty years of this reign, cuts any conspicuous figure in his pages; whilst the account of the Cardinal of York leaves wholly out of sight his unscrupulous conduct and barefaced lying in the matter of the divorce. The particular view of which we complain can scarcely be illustrated better than by an extract from the last chapter of the work, which is headed "The Rise of Protestant Dissent." The author says:—

All the more solid, learned, and thoughtful Reformers said to themselves, "If we break off from the old Church of England we cut away the ground

from under our feet. We must continue the line of the episcopate, and hand it on unbroken to our descendants; we must provide a true priesthood, the same in every respect as has been provided hitherto; we must guard the ancient sacraments of the Church, and take care that no essentials shall be wanting to their due administration *recte* and *rite*, as to principles and ritual; we must see that whatever changes may be expedient in our Liturgy and other services, nothing is taken away, nothing added, which shall cut them off from the fellowship of primitive offices; we must maintain the creeds intact, and whatever special formularies may be needed for our special position, we must in all things be sure that the Catholic faith is still held by the Church of England. Let Rome treat us how she will, be it ours so still to hold our place in the one body of Christ, that we may still claim union with her, and with all living branches of the one true Vine."

And this, we are told, is the principle which actuated the Reformers, or—to quote the author's exact words, lest we should at all misrepresent him—which deeply influenced all the official movements of the Reformation. Now Mr. Blunt is fully persuaded that this is the view which the Reformers did take, because in his opinion they ought to have taken it, as opposed to those narrow views which he speaks of as having been known for three centuries under the designations of Protestantism, Puritanism, Nonconformity and Dissent, and which he says are as strictly antagonistic to the principles of the Church of England as to those of the Church of Rome.

Now we should like very much to know who these solid, thoughtful, and learned Reformers were. The present volume does not extend beyond the reign of Henry VIII. It is, therefore, scarcely likely that the author means to include in this description the Bishops and dignitaries of Edward VIth's creation, who were authors of the Prayer Book of 1552—a book which, we take it for granted, is not exactly to Mr. Blunt's mind; still less can we think he is looking forward to the reign of Elizabeth, or would care to pin his faith upon what is known of the opinions of Parker, Grindal, Horne, Scory, and Cox. We are, therefore, driven to the supposition that he refers to the Reformers of the reign of Henry VIII. Now, the Bishops who were the King's tools for reforming the Church of England were Cranmer of Canterbury, Goodrich of Ely, Shaxton of Salisbury, Hilsey of Rochester, and Barlow of St. David's. If to these be added the name of that scurrilous writer, Bale, afterwards Bishop of Ossory, who was employed by Cromwell to write ribald plays against the Pope and in favour of the new learning, we have a pretty complete list of the most influential Reformers of Henry VIIIth's reign. And we think it would be difficult to quote a single passage from any of their writings which in any way confirms the description given of them by our author; whilst, of the three most distinguished among them for learning—namely, Cranmer, Bale, and Barlow—two have expressed their opinion most unequivocally in contempt of the very idea of an apostolical succession, as well as of the other opinions alluded to in the above extract; and Cranmer, we suppose, can scarcely be thought a very ardent admirer of episcopacy. We should have thought the case scarcely worth arguing; but, as Anglicans of Mr. Blunt's school are loth to give up Cranmer, we will quote a passage or two which may be read in Burnet, and which we can vouch for as having been transcribed correctly from Cranmer's own MS.:—

In the New Testament, he that is appointed to be a bishop or a priest needeth no consecration by the Scripture, for election or appointing thereto is sufficient.

A bishop may make a priest by the Scripture, and so may princes and governors also, and that by the authority of God committed them, and the people also, by their election.

All the officers and ministers, as well of the one sort as of the other, may be appointed, assigned, and elected, and in every place by the laws and orders of kings and princes. In the admission of many of these officers be divers comely ceremonies and solemnities used, which be not of necessity, but only for good order and seemly fashion; for if such offices and ministrations were committed without such solemnity, they were nevertheless truly committed. And there is no more promise of God that grace is given in the committing of the ecclesiastical office, than it is in the committing of the civil office.

We do not ourselves of course write from an Anglican, or any specially controversial, point of view, but simply in the interests of historical truth; but we would recommend Mr. Blunt and so-called High Churchmen to rest their case on the well-known opinions of the divines who, at the Restoration, made the Book of Common Prayer what it is, and to forego their appeals to the opinions of the Reformers, which cannot really be made to serve their purpose.

We have dwelt the longer on this point because it supplies the key to Mr. Blunt's failure. He has started with a wrong hypothesis, and that hypothesis is continually meeting us. His view of the learning, the character, and the opinions of the Reformers is not tenable; and were it ever so just and true, he attributes far too great weight to their personal influence. They were for the most part mere tools in the hands of the King, and there was perhaps not one of them who would have ventured long to maintain any opinion at variance with his known wishes.

After what has been said, some of our readers will be surprised at hearing that neither the marriage with Anne of Cleves nor the divorce of Henry from his fourth wife, nor again the marriage and execution of Catharine Howard, nor again the sixth wife and her surviving her tyrant husband, are so much as mentioned in this History. Yet two at least of these affairs are intimately connected with the subject of the Reformation, if on no other ground, at least on this, that they prove the abject servility of Cranmer and the rest of the bishops and leading clergy of the King's appointment. The earlier part of the reign is chronicled in somewhat more minute detail, but though upon the whole proceedings are given with tolerable accuracy, there are slight mistakes of fact which

* *The Reformation of the Church of England; its History, Principles, and Results (A.D. 1514-1547)*. By the Rev. John Henry Blunt, M.A., F.S.A., Vicar of Kennington, Oxford; Editor of the Annotated Book of Common Prayer; Author of "Directorium Pastorale," &c. London, Oxford, and Cambridge: Rivingtons. 1868.

betray hasty writing, and there are several omissions which could not have occurred had the author been acquainted with recently published collections of documents. For all that appears to the contrary, Mr. Blunt has never seen the interesting collection of Vatican documents printed at Rome by Theiner, in 1864: and though he has made good use of Mr. Brewer's valuable volumes of Letters and Papers, it is unfortunate for his credit that these volumes extend as yet only to the year 1523; that is to say, only to within four years of the period when the actual history of the Reformation may be said to begin. Had he read the diary of Campeggio, as contained in Theiner's volume, there are many passages in this part of the work which would never have been written; though even then he would not have been saved from the ridiculous mistake of speaking of Wolsey's supposed marriage as a parallel case with that of Campeggio. We are told that "there can be little doubt that he, like Cardinal Campeggio, whose son was knighted by Henry VIII., had been married, perhaps secretly, as Archbishop Cranmer was." This little sentence contains by implication three mistakes. There is no evidence whatever to show that Wolsey had married the person who was the mother of his two children; and Cranmer's marriage was no secret, though he did not parade it, as was natural enough in the teeth of the Act of the Six Articles. As to Campeggio's marriage, it was quite different in kind from either of the other two cases, in that he never was in any kind of holy orders till after his wife's death, so that no sort of scandal attaches to his name on this score. Little instances of misstatements of this kind are of perpetual occurrence, and show the narrow compass of the writer's researches. In one place we are told that the Cardinal of York had failed to secure the triple crown, though backed by all the influence of Henry, Francis, and the Emperor. If Mr. Blunt had taken the trouble to read Mr. Brewer's preface to his last volume, he would have seen that Charles V. never intended that Wolsey should be Pope; and, in fact, that the election of Adrian VI. was probably entirely due to the adroit management of the Emperor.

The best chapter, perhaps, is that which gives the account of the suppression of the Monasteries. The author very fairly weighs the testimonies for and against the monks, and accurately describes the real motives which led to the destruction of the religious houses. He has, perhaps, charitably overstated the case in their favour, and his desire to do justice to a set of men who certainly do not deserve all the abuse that has been heaped upon them has in one instance led him into an absurd suggestion. He thinks that the secret of such charges being laid against abbots, priors, and other brethren lay in the fact that they were married. Now, whatever apology could be made for the supposed marriages of the secular clergy, surely none of the regulars would have entered such a plea in their defence; and if such defence had been pleaded, it would have been quite conclusive against their promotion to rectories and other positions in the Church. The King, however he might be inclined to overlook acts of incontinency, was certainly very unlikely to promote the Prior of West Acre, or any other monk who was known to be married. The promotion of such men to benefices in the King's gift, whether they were of good, bad, or indifferent character, is just what might be expected. Such appointments provided for the quiet employment of men who, if they had been at large, might have been found troublesome to the Government, and they saved the Royal Exchequer from the expense entailed upon it of paying the abbots and brethren their pensions.

The author has wisely avoided the form of annals, and broken up his history into separate chapters, each treating of its own proper subject. The chapter on the Divorce will probably be read with interest, and he is entitled to praise on the score of his fearless endeavour to represent the facts of the case in their true light, for which we have no doubt he will incur the wrath of all who take their accounts of the English Reformation from Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. Nevertheless, this chapter exhibits in a stronger light than any other part of the book the writer's want of acquaintance with recently published sources of information, and recalls to our mind, perhaps more forcibly than other part of the work, the often repeated complaint that the History of the Reformation of the Church of England still remains to be written.

MR. RASSAM'S MISSION TO ABYSSINIA.*

IF the great History of Human Error ever comes to be written, a special chapter must be taken up by the unbroken series of blunders that makes up the record of the Abyssinian quarrel. Of course we say this with no wish to detract from the merit of the expedition which marks its final and crowning episode. Both in conception and execution this movement will always stand among the highest in our military annals. Happily for us, the blundering in this latest instance was taken upon himself by our adversary. Theodore's overweening pride, sublime ignorance, and propensity to ardent spirits, crowned by dementia leading to suicide, were the means of extricating us from a strait in which military skill and courage, diplomatic fence, and pecuniary outlay might alike have proved ineffectual. Had that infatuated ruler not held some fond idea that he had only to face the forces of his enemies for them to fall down dead, he would hardly have given them the chance of meeting him in the open, or have turned at bay in his chosen

fortress. Had he with the faintest glimmer of warlike intelligence lined his mountain passes with sharpshooters, or even sent stones rolling down upon the troops toiling painfully in Indian file at his feet, the Cabul disaster might have been outdone. In Theodore's song of triumph "Flodden had been Bannockburn." Or had he, like the Nana, simply bolted for the trackless hills and forests of the far west, taking with him the captives or leaving us a present of their mangled bodies, how long should we have kept up the wild-goose chase, and to what multiple of ten millions would the bill, which now makes the nation grumble, have run its terrible items? We had best pay with a good grace the supplementary estimate, and we may hope, with the final reports and narrative of Mr. Rassam before us, soon to shut our memories upon a record of the most causeless and unmitigated muddling to be met with in the long annals of human folly.

The most provoking part of this melancholy business is the trumpery origin out of which grew such unbounded fuss, anxiety, and cost. The sole business which professedly took Messrs. Stern and Flad, with their wives and families, to King Theodore's dominions, was, as the King formally repeated to Mr. Rassam, "to convert the Jews to the Christian faith." Was it because there were no Jews in Palestine that these gentlemen were driven to seek objects for their zeal in the wilds of Abyssinia? Or was it the known trouble and cost of the convert with his foot, so to say, on his native heath, which made them shy of the home-grown unbeliever? Of the value per head of Abyssinian converts we have unhappily no means of making even a guess, for throughout the whole business no one ever hears mention of a real convert at all. A dozen, ten, or even a solitary believer would have been something to point to in the long account of ten millions. But there is a lamentable and entire blank on the credit side of the ledger. Once, however, these zealous missionaries are seen comfortably settled in the country, we find them as usual embroiled ere long in some way with the powers and rulers of the land. Mr. Rassam does but repeat with authority King Theodore's fundamental grievance that, "notwithstanding all his kindness, Stern had listened to the stories of the Bishop about the origin of his (the King's) mother, and proclaimed to the world that she was a woman of low degree, who used to sell *kosso*—an Abyssinian vermifuge—on the common highways." What the descent of King Theodore from the Queen of Sheba or the *kosso*-seller had to do with the conversion of the Jews was perhaps more obvious to missionary intelligence than to our own. Next it is Consul Cameron who gets into the King's black books, either through his interference in the same matter or through the miscarriage in his hands of Theodore's correspondence with Queen Victoria. To these supposed causes is superadded a trumpery story of the King's that Consul Cameron had taken some Abyssinian servants with him to Cásala, who, at a party given to him by Turkish authorities there, were told to imitate the war-dance of the Royal troops; that some had refused to obey, but one was forced to do as he was ordered, and made the Turks laugh at His Majesty; that they had said sneeringly to the Abyssinians, "Is that the way the soldiers of your great King fight?" This story, it appears, was related to the King by one Ingädä Wark, a scamp who had been in Captain Cameron's service, but who, thinking himself underpaid, did all he could to injure and betray his master. Ingädä Wark having shared the fate of the 197 wretches who were massacred by the King in his last outbreak of fury, April 9, 1868, the disclosures which Mr. Rassam hoped to have extracted from him were lost to the public. It is something, though but a poor equivalent for all we have laid out and undergone—and a still poorer index, to our thinking, to the diplomatic depth of our envoy—to be told that, in Mr. Rassam's opinion, "this man was at the bottom of all the misunderstanding which existed between the King and the European captives." What a pity no one was there to put a foot in the first instance upon the *fons et origo* of all this trouble! From first to last it would appear our proper business was to fight neither with small nor great, but only with Ingädä Wark. Meanwhile ambitious hopes having been kindled in the breast of King Theodore, and the regulation snubbing or official ignoring having been effected in Lord Russell's happiest manner, the vengeance of the semi-savage descends upon the whole body of Europeans within reach. By way of extricating the victims, letter after letter, and envoy after envoy, are despatched, like the messengers after a schoolboy's kite, and with about the same appearance of a return; and so the whole familiar story is brought to pass, till armed force, aided by Theodore's opportune insanity, settles every account save that of money.

Out of the whole tissue of blunders, the appointment of Mr. Hornuzd Rassam strikes us as among the most conspicuous. We need point to no more convincing proof of this opinion than that furnished by his own pages now before us. The many excellent qualities which have deservedly won him esteem in private life make us the more regret that he should have been thrown into a position calling for men of rougher mould, men downright, or even brusque, rather than scrupulous or cringing in their political manners. For Theodore's wayward, suspicious, and scheming temperament a match might better have been found, it may be thought, in the school of Indian experience, from the roll of the captors of Delhi, or the tranquillizers of Afghan and Punjabee chiefs. A determined growl of the British lion might have had more effect upon the savage ear than the mild mixture of the serpent and the dove which to Mr. Rassam seemed to give the true note of diplomacy. "Humouring the King," when there was any object to be

* *Narrative of the British Mission to Theodore, King of Abyssinia.* By Hornuzd Rassam, F.R.G.S. 2 vols. With Map, Plans, and Illustrations. London: John Murray. 1869.

gained, occupies too prominent a place in our envoy's method of approach. The wiliness of the monarch, of which Mr. Rassam was fully aware, was not to be met by a mere attempt to out-reach him in weaker fashion at his own game. The ill effects even of an apparent paltering to His Majesty's ill-humour or caprice, and stooping to the tone of alternate blandishment and supplication, is sufficiently shown in the ill-starred interference of Dr. Beke, undertaken in the teeth of every discouragement, from that of Colonel Merewether to every friendly native adviser. What are we to think of a British envoy, when put in chains, sending a message of this sort even when "in low spirits," and beginning to think the lives of himself and his fellow-captives hung upon a thread:—"Tell the King that my fellow-prisoners and myself have reached this gaol in safety, and that when this act of his becomes known, it will doubtless serve to increase his fame, especially when people hear that a great Sovereign has imprisoned a man merely because he was his friend"? This playing up to the King's combined vanity and humour for a joke may have seemed to Mr. Rassam a happy thought under the circumstances. It is the received way, we believe, in many asylums, of working upon certain moods of lunatic patients. A mixture of plainness with chaff might have been expected to act with this sort of spell upon the disturbed spirit of Theodore. We have an inkling of something of this kind of *ruse* in the fable where the fox finds himself helpless under the paw of the lion. It strikes us, however, as somewhat novel in the history of British diplomacy. Put into still more courtly phrase in the mouth of the messenger Lih, the reply came to His Majesty's ears in the form that "I had not manifested any vexation, but had simply remarked that whatever came from the King was acceptable to me, from a gauntlet to a fetter round the leg." The friendly chiefs, whose conventional native tone Mr. Rassam may have thought himself happy in so well catching, also thought to work upon the Royal pity by the same Oriental attitude of lying in the dust. To the King's first question as to what the English envoy had said, the Bitwáddad's reply was that Mr. Rassam felt highly favoured in having so exalted a locality allotted to him during the rainy season, and one so near His Majesty's *Ufing*; "that my only regret was being so far from the Royal presence, but that the thought of soon meeting the King again was a source of great consolation to me." We are not surprised at the result which followed this kissing of the rod, while attempting to throw dust into the wily monarch's eyes. It was presently told to Mr. Rassam, for his comfort, that when the courier delivered the message the King said, "Do those asses of Mágdala chiefs think that Mr. Rassam is such a fool as to believe that any person could put him in chains without my special order? The thing is done, and he must wait until I go there myself."

From the moment that the landing of the British force was reported to the King, courier after courier brought polite and complimentary letters to Mr. Rassam, and on the 18th of March the Royal Commissioners came to Mágdala to strike off his chains. All proofs to the contrary notwithstanding, it seems to have remained a settled point with him that a policy of finesse and submission was preferable to vigorous acts or outspoken words. His reply to Theodore's "kind consideration" probably strikes him still as the model of diplomatic letter-writing on the occasion:—

I have had the honour of receiving your Majesty's kind letter by Mr. Flad, Aláká Ingáda and Yashálaka Lih, and was glad to learn therefrom that your Majesty was in the enjoyment of good health.

I am much obliged for your Majesty's kind consideration in having released me from my chains. May the Lord reward you for all your acts of kindness.

Your Majesty has always tried to befriend me since my arrival in your country; and I trust it will not be long before you perfect my joy by granting a similar boon to my companions.

I return you my best thanks for having sent me by Mr. Flad, Aláká Ingáda and Yashálaka Lih, two thousand dollars; also one hundred sheep and fifty cows, which I have received with pleasure.

We can partially sympathize with Theodore on having had so long to take his measure of the British character, whether for action or diplomacy, from what came officially under his cognizance. A keen judge of human nature, and veiling under a cynical or playful disguise much instinctive sense of what was bold, downright, and even chivalrous on the part of those opposed to him, he may have detected on many an occasion the ring of metal such as meets our ear in another passage of the book before us. Two priests, who had publicly called the King "a Frank" to his face for having failed to keep the Lenten fast, and for having granted a similar dispensation to those of his soldiers who preferred meat and butter to dry bread, on being arraigned before His Majesty, were denounced by him as fools and asses for their meddling, and ordered to be unfettered and forthwith banished from Mágdala. "If I find you in my camp again," was the judge's valedictory, "I will have you flogged." Everybody in the place expected to see them hurled over the fatal precipice. For the "wretched priests," who received the sentence "with downcast looks and without uttering a word," what most moved Her Majesty's Envoy was the "inward ecstasy they must have felt at having got off so easily." His fellow-feeling is rather with the poor in spirit than with the candidate for the martyr's crown. It is hard, however, to pledge all his companions to the like way of thinking. "How we all envied their summary banishment, and wished that a similar fate awaited ourselves, even with the superadded disgrace of being kicked out of the loathsome place!" Theodore having so long and so characteristically dissembled his love, it was doubtless by way of suitable return that his victim, on his first reception after his fetters had

been struck off, "deemed it prudent to put the best face upon our misfortunes. I endeavoured to look as pleased as if I had never been put in chains by the despot, and were not even then his prisoner." This quite bears out Dr. Blanc's odd picture of Theodore and Rassam's last shaking hands, "both crying at the idea of parting." Every allowance must in fairness be made for any man lying at the mercy of a ruthless and capricious tyrant, and it may be thought somewhat harsh, on the part of gentlemen who sit at home at ease, to fix what some might call an heroic or ideal standard of speech and demeanour under circumstances of such severe proof to human nerves. Still it is not for the countrymen of Conolly and Stoddart to forget what has been the actual deportment of British officers and gentlemen in even more trying straits than these, and they will hardly be persuaded that the honour or the repute of England gained much from the choice of a representative of blood and culture alien from their own. We are far from grudging Mr. Rassam the satisfaction he thinks it fair to claim from the official expression of the "high sense entertained by Her Majesty's Government of his conduct during the difficult and arduous period of his employment" under the Foreign Office. "You appear," writes Lord Stanley, "throughout to have acted for the best, and your prudence, discretion, and good management seem to have tended greatly to preserve the lives, and thus to insure the ultimate release, of the captives." Still less would we begrudge him the 5,000*l.* which the Government has granted, not only as some compensation for his sufferings, but as a "testimony of appreciation of good service." A great nation ought to be generous, and, since all's well that ends well, we care little to calculate with niceness or jealousy how far our envoy's diplomatic energy or tact is to be credited with the ultimate release of the captives. However, "preserving the lives" of the party and of himself being logically a premiss of some importance to this most desirable conclusion, we feel too happy in welcoming back our imperilled countrymen to linger critically over every stage of the ordeal through which the credit of the country had in the interim to pass.

It is not possible to pass so lightly over the closing episode of Mr. Rassam's mission. We allude to the famous business of the cows, of which Dr. Blanc speaks as "Mr. Rassam's unfortunate mistake," and which has been taken advantage of in some quarters to cast upon the British Commander-in-Chief a charge of having deceived Theodore. It is distinctly asserted by Dr. Blanc that Samuel was authorized by Mr. Rassam to intimate to Theodore Sir R. Napier's acceptance of the present. Mr. Rassam's own narrative confirms the statement. Samuel wished to know what reply he was to carry back to the King respecting the proffered present of sheep and cows. "On my repeating this question to the Commander-in-Chief, His Excellency said 'I accept them,' and that was the message which I gave to Samuel." It does not appear that Mr. Rassam was at any pains to explain to Sir R. Napier that any particular significance attached, by native usage, to the acceptance of such a present. Had he so understood it, he must be judged culpable, in his position, of a plain omission of duty; while to be ignorant of it would imply singular lack of knowledge on his part of native ideas of etiquette in general, or of the craft of Theodore in particular. Anyhow, his throwing the blame of the matter upon the Commander-in-Chief is beyond excuse. We now learn from General Merewether that no word in reply escaped Sir R. Napier's lips. He merely "bowed his head," probably thinking the matter of little moment. If Theodore was really deceived, with no one else than Mr. Rassam can the blame possibly rest. With him, too, must rest the fault if any suspicion of laxity or inexactness be thrown by this crucial instance upon the general tenor of his narrative. Much, as we are expressly told, was compiled from memory, most of the original notes, diaries, and other documents having been made away with under fear of detection and its consequences. Making allowance for this drawback, as well as for what we have felt bound to notice as signs of weakness in mind or character, there is much in the tale of this anxious and wearisome captivity to render it interesting to the public.

A NEW HISTORY OF PARIS.*

TO the grumbling Parisians who complain of Baron Haussmann's destructive propensities, and who see all the vestiges of the past swept recklessly away, the municipal authorities have just been offering a most splendid sop in the shape of the magnificent volume now before us. The Prefect of the Seine is certainly quite justified in boasting that no constitutional Government would have been bold enough to incur the enormous expenses entailed by the publication of a work like the *Histoire de Paris*, and he may confidently point to this gorgeous folio as one of the noblest specimens modern France has ever produced of erudition, art, and typography.

We may begin by reminding our readers that some years ago the Paris Administrative Council voted the publication, on an extensive scale, of a complete history of that city. The works of Lebeuf, Sauval, and Dulaure are, no doubt, valuable in their way, and can well be profitably consulted; but they are of too summary a character, and neither the resources of private speculation nor the zeal of religious communities could have been sufficient to bring out a history of Paris really worthy of the subject. The

* *Histoire générale de Paris. Paris et ses Historiens au XIV^e et au XV^e Siècle; Documents et Écrits originaux recueillis et commentés par Leroux de Lincy, L. M. Tisserand, et A. Breul. 1 vol. Imprimerie Impériale.*

plan adopted by Baron Haussmann is that of a series of monographs. It is, of course, liable to the objection of want of unity; but it presents advantages which considerably overbalance this defect, and amongst others is the fact that the preparation and issuing of the various series which are to compose the entire work can be undertaken simultaneously. Thus, besides a general introduction to the history of Paris, complete in one volume, we have already before us the first instalments of a *Topographie historique du Vieux Paris (Louvre et Tuileries)* by M. Berty, and also of a survey of the old Paris libraries by M. Alfred Franklin.

The folio entitled *Les Historiens de Paris au XIV^e et au XV^e Siècle*, composed jointly by M. Leroux de Lincy, M. L. M. Tisserand, and M. A. Breul, is, in point both of size and of intrinsic value, the most important contribution to the whole collection as yet issued, and it is fully entitled to a distinct notice. Let us say a word, first, of the numerous illustrations which have been added to it, and which throw so much light upon the descriptions given in the letterpress. With a view to render this part of the volume as attractive and as perfect as possible, the chief public and private libraries, both in France and abroad, have been consulted; chromolithographs, photographic engravings, woodcuts, and steel plates are scattered throughout the book in endless variety, and every opportunity has been taken of showing pictorially what Paris was six centuries ago. Some of the most splendid miniatures contained in the old mediæval missals and manuscript Bibles are reproduced with admirable accuracy and perfection. Here are two views of Paris during the fifteenth century; a little further on we have a curious representation of the Petit-pont, such as it appeared about the same time; then comes the famous Maison aux Piliers, where the turbulent citizens of the mud metropolis held their meetings; and, finally, the artist treats us to a gorgeous sketch of the interior of the Sainte Chapelle. The facsimile of original charters, of seals, escutcheons, portraits, buildings, and old prints are so numerous that we must be satisfied with a passing mention of them. We spoke just now of the miniatures to be found in some of the MSS. belonging to the great libraries and collections of Europe; the information which they furnish on points of topography is often singularly curious, and at the same time extremely correct. When an illuminator, for instance, in endeavouring to illustrate the Bible, found that the subject he had to deal with was, say, the Crucifixion, instead of giving as the background of his miniature the neighbourhood of Jerusalem, which of course he knew nothing about, he very naturally substituted scenes with which he was familiar—Montmartre, Vincennes, Montfaucon, Saint Denis, &c. If he had to represent the taking of the Holy City by the Crusaders, he delineated the walls of Paris; and his contemporaries thus found Notre Dame, the Louvre, the University, and the Town Hall immortalized à propos either of the Holy Scriptures or of some popular legend. Such is the peculiar value (in addition to its artistic merit) of a beautiful illumination borrowed from the missal of Juvenal des Ursins, copied in this volume, and which represents the shepherds receiving the tidings of Our Lord's nativity; the landscape being a view of the Seine, with the tower of the Temple, the Church of Saint-Jean-en-Grève, the Petit Châtelet, and the Butte-Montmartre faithfully portrayed.

But it is time that we should come to the text, and give some idea of its importance. As the title of the work suggests, the learned editors have published descriptions of Paris written by authors who lived during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; let us add that the notes, elucidations, and comments by which these descriptions are accompanied show an amount of research and of patience above all praise. The first piece is an *éloge* of Paris, composed in the year 1323, by Jean de Jandun, a master of the College of Navarre, whose metaphysical works had procured for him the surname of *Doctor Acutissimus*. Jandun appears to have been in his day a supporter of opinions which were not considered very orthodox; his great friend was the celebrated Marsilio of Padua, well known by his attacks against the Papacy, and he became his *collaborateur* in the publication of a treatise entitled *Defensor pacis*, the programme of which was nothing else, as a distinguished critic remarks*, than the sovereignty of the people and universal suffrage. Translated into French, the *Defensor pacis* soon obtained the widest circulation; yet if its boldness was well calculated to make it popular amongst those whom the ambition and rapacity of the Court of Rome had long filled with disgust, that very merit could not, on the other hand, but excite the anger of the powers that were. Poor Jean de Jandun paid the penalty of his liberalism. Obligated to leave Paris, he retired first to Senlis, and then to Germany, where he died. It is from Senlis that his *Éloge de Paris* is dated. A friend having taunted him on account of his departure, Jandun replied by a pompous praise of the town where he had found a refuge. His correspondent retorted—"How? you, *Doctor Acutissime*, you are ungrateful enough to despise the advantages of Paris, and to prefer to it an obscure country town?" "No," answers the philosopher, "and I shall prove to you forthwith that I am quite as alive as you are to the great merits of the metropolis of intellectual Europe." Hence a long and curious *éloge* containing an account of the topographical beauties of Paris, its public buildings, its civilization, arts, manners, &c. The Latin original of that work had already been published in 1856 by MM. Leroux de Lincy and Taranne, in the *Bulletin du Comité de la Langue, de l'Histoire et des Arts de la France*; it is on the present occasion supplemented with a French translation and a learned commentary.

* Ad. Franck, *Réformateurs et Publicistes de l'Europe*, p. 139.

The next *morceau* is a short fragment from the pen of Raoul de Presles, a distinguished writer honoured with the favour of Charles V., and who took a part in ecclesiastical affairs during the fourteenth century. The King of France had ordered him to write a translation of St. Augustine's *De Civitate Dei*, assigning to him as a remuneration a pension of 400 livres, afterwards increased to 600, for the whole of the author's life. Raoul de Presles was not satisfied with merely giving a version of the bishop's treatise; he added commentaries of his own, and à propos of the 25th chapter of the 5th Book he wrote a short description of Paris. This fragment, the elements of which are borrowed chiefly from Paulus Orosius, Julius Celsus, Geoffrey of Monmouth, Helinand, and Guilielmus Brito, contains many particulars which never existed except in the imagination of the old chroniclers, who are responsible for them; and some of his etymologies are extremely fanciful, as when he says, "comme aussi les Allemands sont ditz d'un autre fleuve qui est appelé Lemannus"; but at the same time he gives a great deal of valuable information respecting the Paris of his own days, and the notices which he gives the popular *chansons de geste* are very interesting.

Guillebert de Metz is the author of the third piece printed in this volume. Nothing certain is known about him, except that he was a German by birth, and that he studied at the University of Paris. He lived about the middle of the fifteenth century, exercised the profession of a scribe, and assumed the title of *libraire* to the Duke of Burgundy. The last ten chapters of his description are the most valuable of all because they contain *quelque chose* *vidit*; he was evidently on familiar terms with all the University men of the day, the philosophers, scribes, illuminators, and artists of every kind; he mentions them as his friends, and describes them, as he goes on, in a few characteristic words.

Finally, the editors of this volume have published a Latin poem, hitherto *inédit*, of Antonio, an Italian writer, a native of Asti, who became one of the retainers of Charles, Duke of Orleans, after that prince was released from his captivity in England. Until quite lately, Antonius Astensis—to use the Latinized form of his name—was known only through a poem entitled *De Varietate Fortune*, published in the fourteenth volume of Muratori's *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*; but a considerable collection of his works was discovered amongst the treasures of the Grenoble Library, and from that manuscript volume M. Leroux de Lincy and his *collaborateurs* have printed, together with a French translation, a description, in hexameters, of Paris, its suburbs, and the principal towns of France. Antonius Astensis is not satisfied with giving an account of all the buildings, both secular and religious, the streets, markets, &c.; he launches forth also into political digressions, and speaks more than once of the wars between the English and French, inveighing bitterly against the former, whom he accuses of thorough irreligion:—

Ex hoc ergo patet Majoribus esse Britannis,
Quos dicunt Anglos vulgari nomine Galli,
Aut paulum aut certe nil religionis in altum
Cælorum Regem, ejus non alma venentur
Templa, manu si quando queunt violare nefanda,
Quæ Galli exornant ingenti semper honore. . . .

This tirade, occurring in a description of the Abbey of Saint Denis, need not astonish us. A secretary to the Duke of Orleans—who, after the fatal battle of Agincourt, had been for twenty-five years a prisoner in England—Antonius Astensis had naturally no sympathy with those whom he calls *Majores Britanni*; he therefore draws from the premisses contained in the above lines the following conclusion:—

Non igitur miror si tandem Rector Olympi,
Exaltare solens justos et ledere pravos,
Auxilii tantum Gallorum contulit armis,
Et tantis sevis fuit adversarius Anglis.

We have thus given a short summary of the principal works which compose the new volume issued under the patronage and by the authority of the Paris Municipal Council. In addition, however, to the four productions just mentioned, we should not forget a number of other documents which complete the information furnished by Jean de Jandun, Raoul de Presles, Guillebert de Metz, and Antonius Astensis. Thus the topography of the Cimetière des Innocents would scarcely have been satisfactory had not the editors reprinted the famous *Dit des trois Morts et des trois Vifs*, the subject of which, together with the mournful doggerel accompanying it, was sculptured over the portal of the church. It is well known also that a representation of the dance of death was painted in fresco on the walls which surrounded the burial-ground, "*pour esmonvoir les gens à dévotion*." These gloomy figures are well reproduced, and a disquisition is added on the nature and origin of the *danse macabre*. Let us also notice a curious chapter on the Paris *bourgeoisie* between 1380 and 1424, with short memoranda of the principal citizens mentioned by Guillebert de Metz. Even in those troublous times, when civil and foreign wars seemed to have brought France to the verge of destruction, when the Church was rent by schism, and the sceptre was in the hands of a lunatic, the list of distinguished writers, of artists, poets, philosophers, and divines, supplies many a name which posterity still honours. Jean Chartier de Gerson, Pierre d'Ailly, Christine de Pisan, and Alain Chartier, are a few amongst those whom we might here mention.

The only fault we have to find with this sumptuous volume consists in the misprints. Some of the extracts are very negligently given, especially the *dit* of Christine de Pisan, in which the printer has sadly blundered.

THE AUSTRIAN NARRATIVE OF BENEDEK'S CAMPAIGN.*

THE publication of the third official volume of the Austrian history of the late war enables us to see that there are other objects in view in this work than merely to show that the Cabinet of Vienna has resolved to purge away its old reproach of useless reticence, and to live in harmony with the age. The blame of the purely military portion of the failure of 1866 has lain so heavily on the Imperial advisers and their master, that they have chosen voluntarily to reveal in full detail the steps that led up hour by hour to the great catastrophe of Königgrätz, in order to show how much of the fatal result was due to the incompetence of the general whom the army, it is fair to say, quite as much as the Kaiser, had chosen for his office. Notwithstanding the necessity, to which we drew attention in our notice of the first section of the work †, of distrusting the completeness of all Austrian official narratives (the first condition of whose writers is to avoid throwing blame on the Emperor and his councillors), there is abundant reason to extol the faithfulness of the present narrator as far as his limits permit him to go, and to admire the minute precision with which he marshals his military details, and explains the causes of the mistakes made and the difficulties encountered. Making every allowance for all possible softening of the Imperial share in the disasters of that brief summer campaign which gave Prussia the supremacy of Germany, there is still plain proof, from his own orders and despatches, that General Benedek failed utterly to make the most of what advantages he had, or to answer to the expectations conceived beforehand of his strategic ability.

Benedek's history is an instructive one, as illustrating a truth often forgotten, that a dashing colonel or brigadier, brave as a lion in action, and with the quickest glance for the advantages to be won by tactical dexterity in a limited field, may yet be wholly void of that larger warlike genius which enables a general-in-chief to divine the yet undeveloped purpose of the enemy, and to wield his own forces, though not within sight, so as to bring their striking power to bear at the right time and place. His first distinctions were won in Italy, where, in 1849, his gallantry and quickness at Mortara, at the head of two battalions, turned a slight into a decisive success, and paved the way for Radetski's great victory of two days later at Novara. Few regimental officers—perhaps none except Colborne with his immortal 52nd—have done so much for an army; and when, ten years later, at Solferino, the corps of General Benedek checked and even repulsed the left of the enemy, triumphant along the rest of the line, he took his place at once by common consent as the future leader of the Imperial army, which that day was once more outgeneralled by its ancient foe within sight of the fields of Castiglione and Rivoli. For some years before the war he held the chief command the Emperor had to bestow, that in Venetia; and when he took up his headquarters with the forces gathering to oppose Prussia in 1866, no generalissimo had ever more completely the confidence of his soldiers. No contrast could be more striking in this respect than that between the popular Austrian hero whose chance words to some veteran Wachmeister, repeated from mouth to mouth, made cheerful the bivouac round Olmütz, and the almost unknown Prussian strategist whose representatives in the field were the two not very friendly Royal cousins—the one known as a soldier only by the bombardment of Düppel, the other by his constant adherence to the family foible of tight full-dress uniform. The two opponents had prepared for war in their several ways. Benedek had issued his well-known "Tactical Instructions for the Northern Army," which show that he judged the rapidity of Austrian manœuvring to make his troops more than a match for their better-armed enemies—a proof that he altogether underrated the breechloader. Von Moltke had worked out fully in the Cabinet each condition of the great problem before him; and, aided by Roon and Bismark, had carefully smoothed away each source of friction in the powerful but almost untried engine which he wielded. Theory was now to be matched against practice; the closet against the camp; improved arms and organization against tried leaders and a staff inured to the demands of war.

As was shown in our former article, the Prussians were so much the better able to collect and move their armies, that in the last week of May they had succeeded in collecting 288,000 men on the northern frontier of Bohemia, whilst Benedek was still pushing up from Olmütz the last corps of his lesser force of 255,000. It does not appear, however, that this movement of his was so far delayed as to put him at a serious disadvantage. On the 26th the Prussians were advancing on all sides, with intent to unite in the neighbourhood of the afterwards famous battleground. 160,000 men, under Prince Frederic Charles and Herwarth, moved in parallel columns from Saxony towards the Iser. 120,000, under the Crown Prince, were to enter by the more difficult frontier of Silesia; and, to avoid delay, Von Moltke had decided on the very critical operation of throwing them into Bohemia by three perfectly distinct passes, in the hope that they might force their way to a juncture before the enemy should act with decisive effect against either column, and that, these divisions united, the important design of bringing together the two vast invading armies might be accomplished by force or strategy. On the other side, Benedek had opposed to the greater army a left wing, 55,000 strong, two days' march off upon the Iser, under the Crown Prince of Saxony and Clam Gallas; whilst 200,000 were col-

lected round Josephstadt and Königgrätz, the last of the corps, the 6th, being but a day's march off to the east, on its way towards the former place.

It has been urged, by those who take the most favourable view of Benedek's action at this crisis, that, knowing by certain proofs of the Prussian advance upon the Iser, he did not wholly believe in the reality of an attack on the side on which the Crown Prince threatened him, but counted the demonstrations there to be possibly a ruse, to be followed by a secret flank march round of this part of the Prussian forces to join the others; and that upon this false conception he based his own mistaken strategy. The documents now published by the Austrian Government clearly prove this suggestion to be beyond the known facts. On the night of the 26th, the arrival of great forces in the passes of Trantenau and Nachod was perfectly known by numerous reports at the Austrian headquarters. Of the third and central column, the corps of Guards, on its way from Braunau, there seems to have been little or nothing ascertained, an omission which seriously influenced the course of operation afterwards; but there could be no doubt that a very formidable army was passing the mountains close at hand. The great question then arose, whether the bulk of the Austrian force should be kept in hand to crush this army as it developed itself, or moved to fall on Prince Frederic Charles whilst the co-operating force thus signalled was yet entangled with its passage through the mountains and round the fortress of Josephstadt, which partly barred its way. Of a purely defensive attitude, such as that by which Laudon repulsed Frederic on the same ground in 1778, there was no thought, as is generally known.

The choice of Benedek fell, after some hesitation, on the second movement. Word was sent to the Saxon prince and Clam that they would be strongly supported, and four of the six corps of infantry were put under orders, on the 27th, for the march westward next day. The two remaining, those of Gablenz and Ramming, were to watch the passes of Trantenau and Nachod respectively, and detain the enemy. At this point it was that Benedek's judgment is clearly shown, by his own orders, to have erred. A mere containing force, such as that to be left behind, should not, on any sound principle, be risked in a decisive action with the larger one to be opposed. If the Crown Prince was really advancing as supposed, Gablenz and Ramming, on finding themselves outnumbered, had behind them the line of the Upper Elbe, partly covered by Josephstadt, and easy to defend with unbroken troops. But Benedek was misled apparently by his confidence in the tactical dexterity of his troops and the inexperience of the Prussians, and he gave his subalterns orders that their defence of the respective passes need not prevent them, "should the enemy show himself, from energetically attacking and overthrowing him" (dem Gegner, wo er sich zeigt, mit aller Energie auf den Leib zu gehen). The direct results of these orders were the actions of Nachod and Trantenau on the 27th, Ramming being thoroughly beaten by the Crown Prince with Steinmetz's column, and Gablenz repulsing that of Bonin, but only at a frightful sacrifice of men in repeated assaults in the face of the needle-gun. The latter of these actions seemed, however, to balance the former, and no change was made that evening in the intention to move westward against Prince Frederic Charles, although, with fatal hesitation, the orders to the corps were for the time suspended, and the 8th, supported by the 4th, even moved eastward on Skalitz to relieve the troops of the 6th, whom Ramming's report stated to be "unable without support to endure any fresh attack."

Before dawn of the 28th Benedek was roused from his hesitation by news from Clam Gallas of an advance of the enemy which threatened to bring the Prussians near Gitschin, and interpose their advance between the Austrian left wing and main army. The former was directed to fall back towards the latter; Gablenz to abandon the ground won at Trantenau, and retire southward; Ramming's beaten troops to withdraw behind the relieving corps. Benedek rode out to visit the latter; and, the Prussians up to 11 A.M. not having shown themselves, he concluded that the victorious column of the day before was waiting to unite with others on the march; and so, ordering his troops to hold their ground until 2 P.M., and then to retreat "should no severe fight have come on" by that hour, he left again for Josephstadt. But the opportunity of retreating safely was lost by the delay, for he was scarcely off the ground when Steinmetz advanced in force to attack the Austrians. Three brigades only of the four of the 8th Corps met him, and by 3 P.M. these had been driven out of Skalitz, worsted easily by the superior numbers and better weapons of their enemies, and suffering losses as heavy as those of Ramming the day before. Benedek had worse news than this to hear that fatal evening. Gablenz—retreating, according to orders, from Trantenau—had been surprised upon the way by the hitherto unobserved column of Prussian Guards, not engaged the day before. Two detachments which should have covered his flank had been withdrawn, one by a mistake of some staff officer who sent it to a wrong village, the other by a too precipitate rendering of Benedek's morning order of concentration. The result was the utter defeat of the victors of the day before, whom the vigorous pursuit of the Guards bore back upon the Elbe with terrible loss. It was 10 P.M. when this alarming news reached Benedek, who had been occupied, notwithstanding his accounts of the disaster of the 8th Corps, in disposing his available forces for the movement westward. But the details of the day's defeats which poured in during the night infused a natural hesitation into his counsels, and on the morning of the 29th he announced himself compelled to abandon his project, and concentrate in a neighbouring position behind the Elbe.

* *Österreichs Kämpfe in 1866*. 3^{ter} Band. 1^{ster} Theil. Gerold: Vienna.

† *Saturday Review*, May 2, 1868.

The Crown Prince pressed him still, but no general action came about this day on that side. The left wing, however, now suffered severely in its turn. Having halted at Gitschin upon the assurance (despatched by Benedek before his change of plan) that the main army would move to meet them at that place, the Saxon Prince and Clam Gallas attempted to hold a position there in face of the masses of Prussians following them from the Iser, were outnumbered, turned, and terribly beaten. At 7.30 P.M., when the fight was decided and the allies in full retreat, came a messenger with Benedek's orders despatched at daybreak, acquainting them that they were to expect no support, and were to avoid a fight! The messenger had taken sixteen hours to travel twenty-four miles. Benedek's staff, and the contradictory hesitation of his own orders, had conspired with the needle-gun to lose the scarcely opened campaign. The chief lost heart in himself and his army and his country's cause, and, to an encouraging telegram sent by the Emperor in reply to the first bad news, his reply, despatched three days before the great battle, was "I entreat your Majesty earnestly to make peace at any price, or a catastrophe cannot be avoided." The general who wrote this was hardly the man to retrieve a failing cause, or rally a demoralized army. Königgrätz was lost, in fact, before it was fought, if the Austrian narrative be as trustworthy as it appears.

(To be continued.)

TRIALS OF AN HEIRESS.*

IT may be hypercritical to cavil at titles when authors find them so very hard to come by, but we are inclined to object to *Trials of an Heiress*, as implying that wealth has generally an immunity from suffering, and that the trials of the heroine were an exception to the rule. Perhaps, however, we ought to read the title in the opposite light, and Mrs. Gifford may have intended to point the moral that riches shut out but the single evil—poverty. We do not know that we can pronounce the conception of the story artistically good. Bessie Marchmont fosters in her bosom the snakes that are to sting her; she becomes contrite as she gets uncomfortable, and piteously wails out her *mea culpa* when discomfort culminates in wretchedness. But as certain faults excite disgust, while others invite our sympathy—as some diseases, loathsome as they are painful, keep compassion at a distance—so the snakes that Bessie rears are of so particularly unpleasant a breed that it is difficult to feel much for her when her pets take to biting. It is of course the prerogative of an author to draw his characters as he pleases, so long as he does not utterly violate the laws of probability and nature. But if he chooses to give us a realistic picture of a disagreeable subject, he must not complain if it does not charm us like a study of grace and beauty. Bessie Marchmont's character may be true enough to nature, but then it is nature of a very sordid cast. It is quite conceivable that a petted young girl, accustomed to be mistress in her father's house, brought up as heiress apparent to his provincial grandeur, should bitterly resent being superseded by a step-mother whom she dislikes, nor hail very warmly the apparition of a baby brother destined to put her nose out of joint. But such annoyances, were they merely passing, would be a matter of course, and far too frail a foundation to base a three-volume novel on. So, instead of raging and having done with it, Bessie Marchmont sulks. Her indignation swallows up alike all weaker and better feelings; her love for a hitherto indulgent father changes itself into something closely resembling repulsion; she is frankly outspoken in her detestation of his new wife, and, when that lady dies in childbirth, her child succeeds to that heritage of hatred. It is on her ostentatiously displayed dislike to the little heir that the interest of the story is to turn, and the *dénouement* demands that it should be steadily borne in upon the reader. But it is so utterly repugnant to our ideal of a womanly nature, it so thoroughly divorces our sympathies from the heroine, that we regret when at last she comes out triumphant from a passage of love with another, where the hand of the man that each is in love with is the prize. This jealousy of her place, position, and prospects, which disgusts us in a creation of fiction evoked to interest our sympathies, sounds natural and appropriate enough in the mouths of her inferiors. When the housekeeper, the maid, and the little boy who was picked out of a gipsy tent to make a *protégé* of, vent their compassionate indignation at her dethronement, we can understand it; but we should have thought it inevitable that a refined, delicately nurtured girl would be scared back into her better mind by so mean a companionship of sentiment. To be sure, the unconscious little appropriator of her rights does find his way to her heart at last, and unlocks the fountains of tenderness which, it appears, have only been sealed up. The process by which this is brought about makes her conversion a more poetical one than if she had been shamed out of her naughtiness by seeing it caricatured among the courtiers of the servants' hall. But then it makes it evident that her eyes have been open to her meanness all the time she was indulging it, and to us it seems a radical blot in the book that its interest is to be found in the hopelessly degraded tone of the heroine's mind rather than in a fit of passing perversity.

Of the other characters many are very good in their way, and they have the great merit of being duly subordinated to the principal one. Where an heiress is the heroine, it might be expected that a lover or two would be so constantly by her side as to share with

her the honours of the stage. Mrs. Gifford dexterously avoids this danger by assigning to Bessie successively two separate favoured lovers out of the many anonymous ones in the background, and one of these is disposed of by a fatal accident before the other comes conspicuously to the front at all. We cannot say we are much prepossessed in favour of either. The first we should say was entirely worthy of Bessie, and it will be seen that we do not in any way share his passion for her. He is a lady-novelist's hero—a young officer of cavalry, good-looking, strong-limbed, excellent at all manly games, as great a favourite in his corps as with the sex, taking to the saddle as naturally as a duckling to the water, and entrusted at steeple-chases with all the money of the regiment from the very day he joins it. Intellect is perhaps scarcely his strong point; he admires Bessie much and himself more, and, when he gets to his country quarters in Ireland, admires very promiscuously indeed. He is killed, as we said, leaving behind him a perfect museum of *gages d'amour* in the shape of fans, faded flowers, and solitary gloves; and peace be to his ashes. Bessie, had she known all and still loved him, might have consoled herself with the thought that he only anticipated one violent death by another, for assuredly some of the fair owners of the ravished trophies must have had fire-eating brothers. We may remark, in passing, that the chapter telling of the fatal steeple-chase does very great credit to a lady's pen. The next lover, and the luckier one, is another stamp of man altogether. He is not meant to captivate at first, but mentally and physically he grows upon us as we read. We have heard that ugly babies often turn into handsome men, but with Duberry the deformed is transformed when he has attained years of maturity. He is first presented to us as absolutely ugly, more as a foil to set off his brilliant friend and rival than anything else. Later we find him the darling of the London drawing-rooms, and although beauty is but skin-deep, and, as squinting Mr. Wilkes said, an ugly man with brains is at worst only so many hours behind an Adonis without them, yet positive plainness will hardly fascinate the many at first sight, even when kindled by expression. It must be owned that the author represents Duberry as making his way in society by his brains rather than his face, and his reputation as a rising barrister is the *open sesame* to hearts and salons. We fear that practical men may condemn these bits of his biography as being about as unreal as anything that could well be conceived. In the first place, very young barristers without money and connexion, even when rising men, do not as a rule take drawing-rooms by storm, recommending themselves to Belgravian mothers no less than to their daughters, and elbowing wealthy earls out of their way in contending for the hands of the latter. Then a young barrister without professional backing is scarcely likely to rise very rapidly at all, not at least without plodding hard. Unless he is a phenomenon of brilliant versatility, West-end drawing-rooms are the last places where we should look to see such a man night after night. But some men have a way of getting through their business that is utterly unintelligible to others, and Duberry finds time between his more serious and his lighter avocations to throw off a succession of articles for the leading periodicals. It is to enhance the merit of his faithful attachment to Bessie that he is conducted through these enchanted halls, among the groups of willing and wealthy *houris*. He has been desperately in love with her from the days when she was forbidden fruit to him, down to the time when his rival's death brought her something nearer, if not quite within his reach. But she treats him with as little tenderness as she does every one else, even after she begins to acknowledge to herself that he is almost as much to her as her fortune. Perhaps it may be our prejudice, but we are never softened in Bessie's favour, not even by her mournful soliloquies after her petulant rejection of her lover's attentions has sent him away in despair. Our first feeling always is that, if Duberry only knew it, he might think himself excessively lucky at not being taken at his word. In town, where he is thrown much with Blanche Mortimer and fancies himself in love with her, and when Blanche falls deeply in love with him while her mother looks on benignant, we only think how pleasant it would make things for every one if the heiress were to succumb under the mental and bodily sufferings which are weighing her down. Blanche is a very sweet, winning, delicate-minded girl, not in the least spoiled by a London season; and although you meet her seldom, and have slight opportunity of improving her acquaintance, you fall in love with her at first sight. We should be too glad to see her happiness secured, whereas we really care very little indeed what may be the fate of Miss Marchmont. But just then the critical state of the heiress—heiress no longer—tears down the veil which her caprice had interposed between her and her lover. Blanche Mortimer resigns him generously and with dignity, saying very truly that she is worthy of the first place in the heart of any man to whom she has given her love, and Duberry marries the impoverished and reformed Bessie Marchmont.

There is no doubt that the story is a very readable one, but, as we said, there is much that is unpleasant in it, and a good deal more that is very improbable. The author never hesitates to draw recklessly on our credulity, and she flies nearly as daring a flight as Mrs. Henry Wood in *East Lynne*, in introducing us to Colonel La Garde. Colonel La Garde is the younger brother of the squire, supposed to have perished at sea many years before; he comes back to his native parish under that feigned name; settles close to his ancestral home; is in daily familiar intercourse with his brother and those who have known him as a lad; treats his niece as an adopted daughter; and, although he nearly betrayed him-

* *Trials of an Heiress*. By the Hon. Mrs. G. R. Gifford. 3 vols. London: Hurst & Blackett. 1869.

self to the casual wayfarers he encountered on the evening of his mysterious arrival, yet succeeds in preserving his incognito till the necessities of the story compel him to unmask. Then, although in a matter of this sort we should be sorry to set our vague speculations against superior feminine knowledge, it does seem to us unlikely that Miss Marchmont, living under the same roof with her mother-in-law, should remain to the last in utter darkness as to that lady's impending confinement. Undoubtedly this makes the little stranger's appearance on the scene more dramatic, and gives occasion to an impressive situation as well, but it is surely as nearly impossible as, we should hope, is Bessie's unrelenting animosity to the infant which its mother's death has left an orphan. Her stepmother's character certainly goes far to extenuate Bessie's hatred to that lady, a hatred which is not even buried in the grave. Mrs. Duberry is the type of the intriguing adventuress, living by her wits, and at the mercy of her maid and confederate. But is it natural that she should catch the squire as she did, spreading her nets down in the country in full sight of the bird, and amid all the circumstantial gossip that was flying about the village and servants' hall as to her own dubious doings and antecedents? It seems strange, too, that a mother so coarse and so unscrupulous should have brought up a son with a mind so delicate and principles so high; or that a man, generally so close an observer of character as Duberry is, should have been utterly blinded by filial partiality to the nature of a woman he had lived with from childhood. The truth is, the author seems to us to pounce on any likely-looking materials without being very fastidious as to the general harmony of the workmanship. So long as she can get her personages into a painful situation, and can manage to heighten its disagreeables, it is a very secondary matter whether the attitude is unnatural or not. But even where the story most scandalizes our common sense, we fancy we can see a reason that is to a certain extent plausible, and if the author sacrifices nature and simplicity, it is with an eye to heightening the interest of something which you may possibly contrive to accept, if, like the Marchioness, you make-believe very much indeed. We do not intend a sneer when we say that, taken apart, the chapters would be very agreeable reading; but if we take the context along with us, we are always stumbling over inconsistencies that wake us up and remind us we are in an unreal world.

If we have dwelt on the faults of the book it is only because we are alive to its merits. The author has a pleasant style, and has fancy and tact enough to make a natural story an interesting one, and we are too glad to welcome lady-writers who always remember that they are ladies, and women as well. Among a good deal that is pointless and leads to nothing, her points are often very good indeed. We have no doubt that, if Mrs. Gifford sticks more closely to nature, if she studies more carefully the probable tastes and sympathies of her readers, if she takes Blanche Mortimers for heroines instead of Bessie Marchmonts, we shall be able some day to congratulate her on a very charming novel.

THE RAILWAYS OF INDIA.*

CAPTAIN DAVIDSON has earned the thanks of that increasing section of the public which has fixed upon Indian railways as a safe field for investment, and of that still larger class which takes an interest in the achievement of great ends in the face of great difficulties, by his work on the *Railways of India*. Shareholders will turn to its contents to satisfy a natural curiosity as to the sources from whence they derive their income, while the general reader will find in it a record of mechanical triumphs to which English engineering can show but few parallels. A glance at the very useful map affixed to the volume will show that the main system of Indian railways at present opened or sanctioned embraces two pairs of alternate parallel lines. One of these pairs consists of the line from Calcutta to Lahore, and the line from Madras to Bombay, both having a general direction from south-east to north-west. The other pair comprises the line from Allahabad to Bombay, and the line from Madras to Beypore, both having a general direction from north-east to south-west. Thus, when the system is completed, it will be possible to travel continuously from the Punjab to the Malabar coast, crossing the continent of India four times in the journey.

Railway enterprise in India enjoys two great advantages in comparison with similar undertakings in this country. There are no unnecessary Parliamentary expenses, and the land is given by the Government. Taking the average of eight Indian and eight English lines, the proportions of law and Parliamentary expenses to the total capital of the Company are respectively 108 and 279. The elements of cost are thus reduced to the payment of labour and the purchase of materials. In these respects the contrast is less to the advantage of India. The wages of masons, smiths, and carpenters have risen considerably, owing to the increased demand for workmen. In Bengal, before railways were begun, they earned from 6d. to 9d. a day. Now they are paid from 9d. to 1s. Foremen in these trades now ask from 3s. 4d. to 5s. a day, while formerly they could only make from 1s. 3d. to 1s. 8d. The greater rise in this latter case shows the disproportionate demand which exists for any kind of labour which implies headwork. In the higher branches all the superintendence has to be obtained from England, which involves more than double payments, besides the travelling

and medical expenses, which at that distance and in that climate are both extremely heavy. The Railway Companies have made great efforts to substitute native operatives, but as yet with very partial success. Clerks and accountants are easily obtainable, nor is there any deficiency in mechanical aptitude; but, according to Captain Davidson, "natives are wanting in presence of mind, courage to deal with emergencies, forethought, and caution—qualities which a good driver of engines must have before he can be competent to manage an engine and train." Taking into account this necessity of importation from home, together with the inferiority, both in quantity and quality, of native as compared with English work, the advantage as regards cost of labour is not much on the side of India. The cost of materials is in some instances very much in excess of what would be paid in this country. Iron, for example, has been obtained from England, to the extent of 3,726,420 tons in the years from 1850 to 1867. Besides the freight, which now averages about 1l. 11s. a ton, the cost of transport from Calcutta and Bombay to the interior has been very great. The East Indian Railway had to build a fleet of barges and steamers for the purpose, the native boats proving unfit for the carriage of such heavy goods, and the Great Indian Peninsula had to overcome great difficulties in getting their iron work up the ghâts. Building-stone is abundant in Bombay and Madras, granite especially being so common in the latter Presidency that for many purposes it takes the place of timber. Telegraph wires, for instance, are carried on granite blocks, instead of on wooden posts. In Bengal brick is the principal material, and when properly made there is no fault to be found with it. Unfortunately, however, the Indian engineer has to make bricks, as well as build with them. "A native takes any clay that happens to be near at hand, digs it up, wets it, kneads it with his feet for a short time, then moulds the bricks on the ground, and leaves them to dry in the hot sun and wind." It is only by setting up brickfields of their own that the Railway Companies have been able to ensure a satisfactory result. Timber in a land of forests might have been expected to be abundant, but as a matter of fact the provision of wooden sleepers for the permanent way has proved the most fruitful source of difficulty which the constructors of Indian railways have had to encounter. The forests have been so recklessly cut down, that in many parts of the country there is an absolute dearth of trees; and even where more care has been taken of them, it is not easy to find 3,000,000 teak or sâl trees in the first instance, and the same number every ten or fifteen years. Sâl is the commonest and best kind of timber for railway purposes, and if the sleepers are cut from ripe and sound trees they will remain in use at least seven years. Teak is more costly, for which reason its employment on railways is confined for the most part to carriage building. In the Punjab the deodar is largely used, and in Bombay and Madras rosewood. In a great number of cases, however, it has answered better to bring creosoted pine sleepers from England, where the order can be executed while the embankments and bridges are being constructed, than to organize a separate establishment for cutting and preparing them in India. With sleepers, as with bricks, engineers have found that they must make or get them for themselves. The less a Company depends on Indian contractors the more rapidly will its works be executed. The ravages of the white ant, from which at the outset so much mischief was anticipated, have not proved really serious. The ants are accustomed to work in covered earthen galleries, and as these are dislodged from the sleepers by the vibration of every passing train, they have continually to begin the attack over again.

The two most important members of the Indian Railway system are the East Indian and the Great Indian Peninsula, each presenting its peculiar difficulties from the nature of the country through which the lines are carried. Great rivers had to be crossed in the first case, a precipice had to be surmounted in the second. The first of these obstacles prevented the terminus of the East Indian line from being placed on the Calcutta side of the river. It was necessary that the railway should be carried by the Raneeungee coalfields on the right bank of the Hooghly, and the choice therefore lay between making Howrah, the town opposite Calcutta, the starting-point, and throwing a bridge across a river 1,700 feet broad, with a tide which at flood runs twenty miles an hour, a bore which abreast of Calcutta is sometimes six feet high, and low banks presenting unusual difficulties for making approaches. The most important bridge yet constructed on any Indian railway is one over the Soane, near its junction with the Ganges above Patna. For the last hundred miles of its course the Soane flows through a bed of sand more than two miles wide, though the river, even in the rainy season, rarely fills this immense channel. At one point, however, the stream contracts to 4,000 feet, and a vein of clay was found to underlie the sand across the whole space between the banks, and here it was determined to construct the bridge. The foundations of the piers were sunk through the sand into the clay, and a wrought-iron lattice superstructure was thrown across them, carrying the rails on the top, and a roadway for passengers beneath. The embankment along which the East Indian Railway mostly runs is composed of earth "brought by men, women, or children in small baskets on their heads from excavations alongside the line." This, says Captain Davidson, "though it seems a primitive and slow method, is in practice found to be sufficiently speedy wherever labour of any kind can be collected. It is the custom of the country, and the simple work, requiring no thought and no plant but a small basket, suits well with the unenergetic character of the population. It allows, too, the whole strength of

* *The Railways of India*. By Edward Davidson, Captain R.E. London: Spon. 1868.

a family to be employed, from the grandsire down to the girl and boy of ten and twelve. The bank has in all cases been finished without difficulty wherever the labourers have been punctually and fairly paid; and trouble has been experienced in those spots only where contractors have in the first instance failed to pay accurately and readily." On the Great Indian Peninsula line the main obstacle was the Ghâts, a line of precipitous cliffs averaging 2,000 feet in height, by which, as by one step, the traveller descends from the tableland of Central India to the low plains along the coast. The watershed of the country is at the very edge of these cliffs, the streams on one side making their way across the continent to the Bay of Bengal, while on the other side they are precipitated at once to the sea level. Until this century two bullock tracks, the Thull Ghât and the Bhoré Ghât, formed the only means of communication between Bombay, and Agra and Calcutta to the north-east, and Poonah and Madras to the south-east. The British Government had made these tracks passable for wheel carriages by 1830, and after careful consideration, they were both adopted as the line along which the two sections of the railway should be taken. In this part of his book Captain Davidson is too chary of details. A mere enumeration of viaducts and tunnels conveys to uninstructed readers but a poor conception of the magnitude of the undertaking of which they form part.

The money with which Indian railways have been constructed is almost wholly English, native capitalists, usually so anxious to take up Government securities, having been discouraged by the nominal management of the lines by private Companies. The guarantee system appears, however, to combine the advantages of private enterprise and Government supervision in the highest attainable degree. If the payment of interest on the capital had not been assured, no one would have been found to take the shares, while if the Government had itself raised a loan for railways, it would have run great risk of being diverted to other purposes "during years of turbulence or pecuniary pressure." By the present arrangement, the money, though deposited with the Government, is lent for a specific purpose, and can be diverted to no other; and "thus it has happened, that even during years of great anxiety and commotion, funds sufficient for the annual outlay on railways have always been forthcoming." The Government guarantee interest at five per cent. for ninety-nine years on all moneys paid into the Treasury, and the Company has the right to demand the repayment of the whole of the capital expended on giving six months' notice of their intention to surrender the railway. In this way, should the Government at any time decline to pay the full interest, the shareholders might get their investment back again and be secure against heavy loss.

GERMAN LITERATURE.

IT would probably be a gross injustice to the accomplished bookmaker who has undertaken the biography of Count Bismark* to suppose him actuated by any other motive than the wish to sell his book. To effect this he must accommodate himself to the taste of his public, with which he must be far more accurately acquainted than any foreign critic can be. But for this, he might be supposed to be experimenting upon the fame of his hero, with the view of discovering how much ridicule it could support without injury. Count Bismark is probably not a very sensitive personage, or possibly he belongs to that genus of great men for whom no adulation is too coarse. In any other case his equanimity must be subjected to a sore trial on perusing his own biography. He will find himself in the predicament of Fouqué's hero in the enchanted castle, where every chamber was filled with likenesses of himself. Go where we will in the Count's biography, the Count's image meets us in every conceivable attitude except flying. We have Bismark the patriotic, scowling at a ragged democrat who is talking sedition to a sentry; Bismark the dutiful, communing with his King, a white waistcoat superimposed upon his loyal heart; Bismark the polite, the centre of a group of Conservative statesmen, a picture which somehow irresistibly recalls Landseer's "Alexander and Diogenes"; Bismark the martial, in the uniform of a lieutenant of cavalry, with spiked helmet complete. The letterpress is often of a piece with the illustrations. "This" (the state of politics at the time) "tempted the burning tear into Bismark's eyes, and his soul writhed in unutterable woe." Having made a speech, "his features appeared sharper than formerly, his countenance was pale, his white teeth, more pointed than before, protruded visibly." The work is also seasoned with anecdotes which no doubt appeared exquisite strokes of humour to the Prussian Conservatives, but which others might consider pieces of insolence, not to say brutality. Nor is there, so far as the writer's own part of it is concerned, a single redeeming feature in the book. Any one will, by its means, be able to discover what Count Bismark was doing at any particular period, and that is all that can be said for it. The really valuable part—and it is so valuable as to be indispensable to all who would know Count Bismark—consists of the numerous letters addressed by him to members of his family, which could not have been published without their consent. Besides the character of authenticity thus conferred on the publication, it becomes a repository of materials from which the Count's character may be estimated with more accuracy than from his speeches and State

papers. He appears, on the whole, to much advantage as a kind, cordial, and affectionate man, estimable in his domestic relations. Some of his descriptions of travel are extremely graphic. Intellectually, he seems to be one of those persons who, but for the force of circumstances, might have passed through life without their eminence having been suspected. Two circumstances have made him what he is—the Revolution of 1848, which compelled him to think, and vastly expanded his intellectual horizon; and the embarrassed condition of his family, which obliged him to reside upon his estates, where he participated actively in local affairs, and mastered the practice of administration and the theory of representation on a small scale. On his entrance into public life he simply put into practice principles already familiar to him, and they proved to be the right ones. A purely military career would have destroyed the flexibility of his mind, a thorough diplomatic education would have impaired its force. In the former case he would never have accommodated himself to constitutional forms; in the latter he might have acquired a more polished address, but would no longer have been the one doer in a nation of talkers.

There is perhaps no sharper contrast in history than that between the despotic, unscrupulous, very prosaic, and very successful restorer of German unity, and the romantic, enthusiastic, and unfortunate Emperor* who vainly sought to revive the creed of Greece and restore the might of Rome. A perfectly impartial estimate of Julian the Apostate will perhaps never be arrived at. Gibbon and Neander both come very near the mark, but both are sensibly though slightly prejudiced, the one by his antagonism to Christianity, the other by his official relation to it. Dr. Mücke's excellent monograph is tinged by a more subtle influence—the admiration of a kindred spirit for Julian's generous temper and lofty aims. While professing, and evidently desirous of attaining, the strictest impartiality, he rarely holds the balance quite evenly. He perceives and exposes the visionary element in Julian's character, the inherent impracticability of his schemes, and the incidental faults of their execution; but the tenderness of his conclusions is hardly in keeping with the austerity of his premises. It must be admitted that this is a fault difficult to avoid in dealing with a character like Julian's. Dr. Mücke defends his hero very successfully against the calumnies of ecclesiastical writers, and clearly establishes his innocence of the charge of persecution. He does not, however, entirely convince us that Julian's moderation was the result of settled principle. There seems something constrained about his ostentatious toleration; it strikes us as a concession to circumstances, and as always dogged by an *arrière-pensée*. Julian was no more capable than his contemporaries of rising to the philosophic idea of universal toleration. One remark of Dr. Mücke's is striking, and we think new; it is that Julian was misled by the turbulent feuds of the Christians into anticipating the break-up of the religion, whereas these were in fact a symptom of its exuberant vitality. We are ourselves continually hearing the downfall of England and the United States predicted on similar grounds, and with equal reason. The work is accompanied by a copious analysis of Julian's writings, and of all ancient sources of information respecting him. It is indeed an admirable volume, equally recommended by interest of subject, ability of treatment, generosity of spirit, and clearness of style.

St. Gregory of Tours† is in himself an interesting character, and his history of his own times is a most important work. It describes a period of anarchy and an almost total dissolution of social order; when, nevertheless, the foundations of modern France were established. Three national elements, the Celtic, the Roman, and the Teutonic, strove in violent agitation for more than two centuries, and the modern Frenchman is the result of the process. Gregory's narrative is simple, and no doubt trustworthy when it is not vitiated by his superstition. He has no insight into the causes or consequences of events, nor could such be expected from a writer of his age. Had he been a philosophical historian we might perhaps have learned from him how the Teutonic race, which impressed its character so powerfully in England, disappeared like rain upon the sands in France and Spain. As it is, his work suggests, and partially illustrates, a number of most important questions connected with the origin and institutions of the Romano-German Empire, and the framework of mediæval society in general. These are treated ably and perspicuously by Herr Loebell. If the arrangement of his book is sometimes difficult to follow, it must be remembered that he is treating of a singularly obscure and distracted period. Heinrich von Sybel has added a preface expressing his gratitude to his old and now deceased teacher, and some notes.

In a lucid and temperate essay C. Wittichen‡ contends that the fourth Gospel is the work of the Apostle John, or at least that there is no good reason to dispute his authorship. He places the date of it between 70 and 80 A.D. He does not, however, regard the discourses which it contains as historical, but considers it as a polemical work, directed against the Christian Essenes.

* *Flavius Claudius Julianus. Nach den Quellen.* Von Dr. J. F. A. Mücke. Abth. 2. Julian's Leben und Schriften. Gotha: Perthes. London: Nutt.

† *Gregor von Tours und seine Zeit, vornehmlich aus seinen Werken geschildert.* Von J. W. Loebell. Zweite vermehrte Auflage. Mit einem Vorwort von H. von Sybel. Leipzig: Brockhaus. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Der geschichtliche Charakter des Evangeliums Johannis, in Verbindung mit der Frage nach seinem Ursprunge.* Von C. Wittichen. Elberfeld: Friederichs. London: Williams & Norgate.

* *Das Buch vom Grafen Bismark.* Von George Heseckiel. Bielefeld: Velhagen & Klasing. London: Nutt.

The work is significant as a symptom of the reaction towards more conservative views now taking place in German theology.

Dr. Kurtz's analysis of the Epistle to the Hebrews* is very close, and his commentary is pregnant with matter. The most interesting part of his work is the preliminary excursus, investigating the questions of date and authorship, and of the persons to whom the letter was addressed. He rather inclines to attribute it to Apollos, while quoting with approbation Origen's pithy summing up of the question sixteen hundred years since, "God knows."

Dr. Wuttke's work on the popular superstitions of Germany† contains an immense assemblage of particulars respecting the popular mythology of the country. In the writer's opinion all these superstitions are vestiges of the old heathenism, and he seems to take no account of the mass of new error engendered by the credulity of the middle ages. It is undoubtedly quite true that much modern superstition is directly traceable to the age of Thor and Woden, and that much which at first sight wears a Christian appearance is in reality but the old religion in masquerade. It will probably be found that the great factors of superstition—fear and ignorance—have in all ages, and under all conditions, given rise to ideas nearly similar. In general, the beliefs and practices described by Dr. Wuttke are of a prosaic and abject character; but some are founded upon the correct observation or intuitive perception of natural laws, and might have passed for beautiful and appropriate symbols had they never been designed for anything more.

Robert von Mohl‡ combines the theoretical attainments of a professor of law with the practical experience of an administrator and diplomatist. The third volume of his collected essays contains two of great importance—one on the problems connected with the employment of labour, the other on popular education in its relation to the claims of the Church. He is not an original thinker, but possesses great powers of effective statement in combination with robust common sense.

An anonymous work on German schools and universities§ is written from a professorial point of view. It is a somewhat eccentric composition, and we should hardly conclude that the author figured among the most eminent members of his profession, but it has hints and observations well worth attention. The writer is naturally much impressed by the pecuniary drawbacks of his condition. Few professors, he says, unless they remain single, can live in comfort until the age of forty or fifty. They consequently lecture to more pupils than they can instruct, as they cannot dispense with the fees. Being unable to receive their pupils at home, they see little of them, and exercise little moral influence over them. These defects are evidently obviated in England by the richness of our educational endowments, and by our collegiate system. The moral is that we must not, in introducing reforms, lightly sacrifice what others would give much to acquire.

Kopp's "Contributions to the History of Chemistry"|| might have been a very interesting work, being, so far as it has proceeded, concerned with the romantic childhood of the science, when chemistry was a form of alchemy, with an affinity to magic. Except for the learned, the book is rendered comparatively uninviting by the author's incapacity for conveying the results of his researches in an abbreviated form. He not only investigates literary questions with the minute accuracy demanded by chemical problems, but insists on exhibiting every stage of the process in detail. The inevitable result is tedium. It is also mortifying to find that so many of the questions raised admit of no satisfactory answer. The derivation of the word "chemistry," for instance, remains as obscure after Herr Kopp's researches as before. Perhaps this dim twilight of uncertainty is one of the charms of the subject. There is a singular fascination about it, much the same as the ancient alchemists may be supposed to have found in the perpetual promise and everlasting disappointment of their search for the philosopher's stone.

The second part of Teichmüller's commentaries on Aristotle¶ is devoted to the æsthetic theories of the philosopher. It is a clear, precise, and not unduly abstruse investigation of the subject.

Helbig's work on the mural paintings of Herculaneum and Pompeii** is a very valuable performance. It principally consists of a complete catalogue, with full but not prolix descriptions of all these works, including those which are no longer extant, and are only known from the accounts written at the time of their discovery. An interesting essay by Otto Donner is prefixed, treating of these paintings from the technical point of view; and a folio atlas is annexed, giving examples in outline of some of the most remarkable among them.

* *Der Brief an die Hebräer*. Erklärt von Dr. J. H. Kurtz. Mitau: Neumann. London: Williams & Norgate.

† *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*. Von Dr. A. Wuttke. Berlin: Wiegand & Grieben. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Staatsrecht, Völkerrecht und Politik*. Monographien von Robert von Mohl. Tübingen: Laupp. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Von deutschen Hochschulen. Allerlei was da ist und was da sein sollte*. Von einem deutschen Professor. Berlin: Reimer. London: Williams & Norgate.

|| *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Chemie*. Von Hermann Kopp. Braunschweig: Vieweg. London: Nutt.

¶ *Aristotelische Forschungen*. Von G. Teichmüller. Th. 2. Halle: Barthel. London: Williams & Norgate.

** *Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens*. Beschrieben von W. Helbig. Nebst einer Abhandlung von Otto Donner. Leipzig: Breitkopf & Härtel. London: Williams & Norgate.

Few writers can be better qualified to undertake the history of Italian art than Ernst Förster*, and the first volume of his work justifies the expectations naturally formed of it. It represents the accumulations of long years of researches, in the course of which the author has visited nearly every part of Italy, and personally inspected all accessible monuments. It may be regarded as in a measure the commentary and illustration of his well-known "Italien." The first volume, while perhaps the most important part of the work in the eyes of students like the author himself, as dealing with the most obscure portion of the subject, and representing the largest amount of original research and investigation, presents rather an archaeological than an artistic aspect to the general reader. It begins with a short but masterly sketch of art in the Roman period; early Christian art is next discussed; the writer then dwells with visible partiality on the splendid barbarism of Ravenna and the Byzantine school, and so on to the great cathedrals of Venice, Pisa, and Monreale, where the work is suspended for the present. Its contents will probably be new to Herr Förster's readers, except to a peculiar and very limited class of students.

"Studies in German Art," by Herman Riegel†, are mostly reprinted from periodicals. They are of a somewhat slight character, but, being principally criticisms on recent works, afford valuable information on the character and tendencies of contemporary art in Germany. The fact that the most important works of the German school are frescoes, which can only be seen on the spot where they are painted, places the artists at a great disadvantage in comparison with those of other countries, so far as the popularity of their works is concerned. Herr Riegel's descriptions will go some way towards supplying this defect. His account of the unfortunate Alfred Rethel's works at Aix-la-Chapelle is peculiarly interesting.

Madame Lewald‡ is a lively writer, and there are many pleasant pages in her narrative of her residence at Geneva. At the same time there is far too much bookmaking, too much of trivial incident, and in particular too much of the lady's own observations on political, theological, and such-like matters. These would have informed us, if we had not known it already, that it is perfectly possible for a very strong Liberal to be as conceited and intolerant as the most resolute adherent to the traditions of the past. The most interesting feature of the book is its graphic portraiture of the democratic leaders to whom Geneva affords a rallying-place, such as Quinet and Vogt. It is wrong to smile at the misfortunes of patriotism, but Madame Lewald's gallery of heroes forcibly recalls the six kings in *Candide*, who came to pass the carnival at Venice. Garibaldi, too, was brought thither during our authoress's stay, by the Peace Congress, which the promoters judiciously assembled under the presidency of the most eminent soldier they could find. Madame Lewald has also some amusing, though rather ill-natured, pages at the expense of the foreign residents at the boarding-houses, especially the English, who are no doubt frequently very remarkable persons.

Another work on Swiss travel§ will possess great attraction for Alpine tourists. It is a history of all the most memorable ascents of the chief peaks in Switzerland, drawn up by one who may say, *quorum pars magna fui*. It is prefaced by a brief but luminous essay on the physical geography of the country. The first part, which is all that is hitherto published, contains the history of the ascents made in the Bernese Alps.

Adolf Wilbrandt|| is a novelist of the school of Paul Heyse, and possesses much of the finished elegance of his model. There is real pathos in the first of his three novelettes, which turns on a question of divorce, and considerable descriptive force in the second; but his powers are perhaps displayed to most advantage in the third, which is of a humorous character. A retired merchant, returned from some years' residence in South America, meditates espousing an old acquaintance, a celebrated beauty in her day, but thoroughly heartless, selfish, and disagreeable. The diversion of his affections to her unprepossessing but amiable sister forms the subject of a pretty and really dramatic story.

A. F. von Schack¶, the translator of Ferdusi, is in a manner the representative of Rückert and Platen in the modern German Parnassus. Without rivaling either of these great writers, he unites to a certain extent the characteristics of both, possessing much of the rich diction, melody, and facility of the former, and recalling the latter by his consummate polish and attention to artistic form. His little volume of six narrative poems will sustain his reputation. The most remarkable is perhaps the attempt in "Lais" to recount a classical story in the trochaic measure of the Servians, selected by Dean Alford for his version of the *Odyssey*. In "Rosa" he seems to have had English models before him, both metre and manner closely recalling "Christabel."

* *Geschichte der Italienischen Kunst*. Von Ernst Förster. Bd. 1. Leipzig: Weigel. London: Nutt.

† *Deutsche Kunststudien*. Von H. Riegel. Hannover: Rümpler. London: Williams & Norgate.

‡ *Sommer und Winter am Genfersee*. Ein Tagebuch. Von Fanny Lewald. Berlin: Jauke. London: Williams & Norgate.

§ *Ueber Eis und Schnee. Die höchsten Gipfel der Schweiz und die Geschichte ihrer Besteigung*. Von G. Studer. Abth. 1. Bern: Schmid. London: Williams & Norgate.

|| *Novellen*. Von Adolf Wilbrandt. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate.

¶ *Episoden. Erzählende Dichtungen*. Von A. F. von Schack. Berlin: Hertz. London: Williams & Norgate.

and "Rosalind and Helen." "The Rainbow Prince," a fairy legend in octaves, greatly resembles Keats's unfinished poem, "The Cap and Bells." Some stanzas of this little poem display a felicitous vein of humour, with which the tragic conclusion seems hardly in keeping.

There is great variety in the poems of Julius Grosse*, and also considerable metrical skill and power of diction, with every indication of a wide range of culture. The writer lacks native power to balance his impressionability and facility of reception; he reproduces much, and produces little. His volume may be read with pleasure, but nothing in it is likely to be remembered for very long.

The nine tales of Siddhi Kûr, and the history of "Ardachi-Bordachi Khan" (Bhoja Raja), published in the Mongolian text, with notes and a translation by Bernhard Jûl†, are originally from the Sanskrit. The Mongols acquired them along with the Buddhist religion which they learned from the Indian missionaries. There is, however, nothing Buddhist in the stories and nothing distinctively Mongolian, and though no doubt they are æsthetically all the better on this account, their ethnological significance is but trifling.

England, which has received so many presents from Germany in the shape of fairy tales, now makes some return by a translation of "Lewis Carroll's" delightful *Alice in Wonderland*‡, admirably executed by Miss Antonie Zimmermann. The original illustrations are reproduced; they could not be improved. The translator has judiciously varied her original by substituting parodies of popular German rhymes for the pieces which would be unintelligible to German children.

The January part of "Westermann's Monatshefte"§ contains one of Paul Heyse's beautiful novelettes, "Am Todten See." The February and March numbers are, as usual, full of agreeable reading.

- * *Aus begeben Tagen.* Neue Gedichte. Von Julius Grosse. Stuttgart: Cotta. London: Williams & Norgate.
- † *Mongolische Märchen-Sammlung.* Herausgegeben von Bernhard Jûl. Innsbruck: Wagner. London: Williams & Norgate.
- ‡ *Alice's Abenteuer im Wunderland.* Von Lewis Carroll. Uebersetzt von Antonie Zimmermann. London: Macmillan & Co.
- § *Westermann's illustrierte deutsche Monatshefte.* No. 143-150. Braunschweig: Westermann. London: Williams & Norgate.

NOTICE.

We beg leave to state that we decline to return rejected communications; and to this rule we can make no exception.

THE SATURDAY REVIEW

POLITICS, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART.

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ADVERTISEMENTS.

PHILHARMONIC SOCIETY.—Conductor, Mr. W. G. Cusins. THIRD CONCERT, Monday Evening, April 19, St. James's Hall.—Pianoforte, Herr Heucke (conductor of the Gewandhaus Concerts, Leipzig); Violoncello, Signor Finelli; Violins, Nadie, Regan (second appearance), and Mr. W. H. Cummins. Symphonies, Schubert's unfinished, in B minor, and Beethoven's C minor; Mozart's Coronation Concerto in D, for Piano; Eckert's Violoncello Concerto. Stalls, 10s. 6d.; Balcony, 7s.; Unreserved, 5s. and 5s. 6d.—Lambert & Co., 42 New Bond Street; Austin, 28 Piccadilly, &c.

MR. CHARLES DICKENS'S FAREWELL MORNING READINGS. May 1, 8, and 22.—In compliance with a generally expressed wish, Mr. CHARLES DICKENS will read in St. James's Hall on Saturday Afternoons, May 1, 8, and 22, at Three o'clock exactly. Sofa Stalls, 7s.; Stalls, 5s.; Balcony, 3s. Admission, 1s.—Programmes and Tickets at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street; Keith, Prowse, & Co.'s, 48 Cheapside; and at Austin's, 28 Piccadilly.

MR. CHARLES DICKENS'S FAREWELL READINGS in St. James's Hall.—LAST EVENING READING but SIX on Tuesday, April 27, "DOCTOR MARIGOLD," and "THE TRIAL" (from "Pickwick"). The Readings will commence at Eight o'clock, and be comprised within Two Hours. Prices of Admission—Sofa Stalls, 7s.; Stalls, 5s.; Balcony, 3s. Admission, 1s.—Tickets at Chappell & Co.'s, 50 New Bond Street; and at Austin's, 28 Piccadilly.

FRENCH GALLERY, 120 Pall Mall.—The SIXTEENTH ANNUAL EXHIBITION OF PICTURES, the contributions of Artists of the French and Flemish Schools, is NOW OPEN.—Admission, 1s. Catalogue, 6d.

WILL CLOSE THIS DAY FOR RE-ARRANGEMENT, &c. **SINAI, EGYPT, THE ALPS.**—An EXHIBITION OF DRAWINGS AND PAINTINGS by ELIJAH WALTON.—Pall Mall Gallery, 48 Pall Mall (Mr. W. M. THOMSON'S), from Ten till Six. Admission (including Catalogue), 1s.

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ROYAL LITERARY FUND.—THE EIGHTIETH ANNUAL DINNER of the Corporation will take place in Willis's Rooms on Wednesday, May 5; the Right Hon. Lord STANLEY, M.P., in the Chair.

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Tickets, including Wines, 21s.; to be had of the Stewards and the Assistant-Secretary, from whom all particulars relating to the Institution may be obtained.

JOHN EVERETT MILLAIS, R.A., Hon. Secretary.
FREDERIC W. MAYNARD, Assistant-Secretary.

21 Old Bond Street, W.

VICTORIA INSTITUTE, 9 Conduit Street, Regent Street.—ORDINARY MEETING, Monday, April 19, 1869, at 8 p.m. Paper on "Man's Place in Creation," by Professor MACDONALD, M.D. of St. Andrew's.

THE HIGHER EDUCATION OF WOMEN.—THE CHELSEA

and KENSINGTON COMMITTEE for promoting this object give notice of a COURSE of LECTURES on SIZE and SHAPE, as an Introduction to GEOMETRY, which will be delivered, by permission of the Council on Education, in the Lecture Room of the South Kensington Museum, on Saturday, April 17, at Eleven o'clock, and on each following Saturday, at the same hour, up to June 12, by W. K. CLIFFORD, Esq., B.A., Fellow and Assistant Tutor of Trinity College, Cambridge. Tickets, for the Course, 21s. each; to Teachers and Professional Students, 10s. 6d. each; Two Members of One Family, 15s. each. Tickets for a Single Lecture, 2s. 6d. each. A Free Ticket will be granted to any Governess who accompanies not less than Two Pupils.—Tickets may be had of Messrs. Western, Knightsbridge; Larner & Ward (late Galsworthy), 42a Chester Square; Macmillan, 27 King's Road, Chelsea; Cecil W. Wood, 180 Brompton Road; and at the South Kensington Museum.—For information apply to Mrs. BRATH (HODGKINS) 20 Wilton Place.

GUYS HOSPITAL.—THE SUMMER SESSION commences on Saturday, May 1.

MEDICAL OFFICERS.

- Physicians.—G. Owen Rees, M.D., F.R.S.; S. O. Habershon, M.D.; S. Wilks, M.D.
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For further information, apply to Mr. STOCKER.

Guy's Hospital, April 12, 1869.

MALVERN COLLEGE.

The SECOND TERM will commence on Friday, April 30.

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Head-Master.—The Rev. ARTHUR FABER, M.A., late Fellow and Tutor of New College, Oxford.

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730th, 731st, 732nd, 733rd, 734th, 735th, 736th, 737th, 738th, 739th, 740th, 741st, 742nd, 743rd, 744th, 745th, 746th, 747th, 748th, 749th, 750th, 751st, 752nd, 753rd, 754th, 755th, 756th, 757th, 758th, 759th, 760th, 761st, 762nd, 763rd, 764th, 765th, 766th, 767th, 768th, 769th, 770th, 771st, 772nd, 773rd, 774th, 775th, 776th, 777th, 778th, 779th, 780th, 781st, 782nd, 783rd, 784th, 785th, 786th, 787th, 788th, 789th, 790th, 791st, 792nd, 793rd, 794th, 795th, 796th, 797th, 798th, 799th, 800th, 801st, 802nd, 803rd, 804th, 805th, 806th, 807th, 808th, 809th, 810th, 811st, 812th, 813th, 814th, 815th, 816th, 817th, 818th, 819th, 820th, 821st, 822nd, 823rd, 824th, 825th, 826th, 827th, 828th, 829th, 830th, 831st, 832nd, 833rd, 834th, 835th, 836th, 837th, 838th, 839th, 840th, 841st, 842nd, 843rd, 844th, 845th, 846th, 847th, 848th, 849th, 850th, 851st, 852nd, 853rd, 854th, 855th, 856th, 857th, 858th, 859th, 860th, 861st, 862nd, 863rd, 864th, 865th, 866th, 867th, 868th, 869th, 870th, 871st, 872nd, 873rd, 874th, 875th, 876th, 877th, 878th, 879th, 880th, 881st, 882nd, 883rd, 884th, 885th, 886th, 887th, 888th, 889th, 890th, 891st, 892nd, 893rd, 894th, 895th, 896th, 897th, 898th, 899th, 900th, 901st, 902nd, 903rd, 904th, 905th, 906th, 907th, 908th, 909th, 910th, 911st, 912th, 913th, 914th, 915th, 916th, 917th, 918th, 919th, 920th, 921st, 922nd, 923rd, 924th, 925th, 926th, 927th, 928th, 929th, 930th, 931st, 932nd, 933rd, 934th, 935th, 936th, 937th, 938th, 939th, 940th, 941st, 942nd, 943rd, 944th, 945th, 946th, 947th, 948th, 949th, 950th, 951st, 952nd, 953rd, 954th, 955th, 956th, 957th, 958th, 959th, 960th, 961st, 962nd, 963rd, 964th, 965th, 966th, 967th, 968th, 969th, 970th, 971st, 972nd, 973rd, 974th, 975th, 976th, 977th, 978th, 979th, 980th, 981st, 982nd, 983rd, 984th, 985th, 986th, 987th, 988th, 989th, 990th, 991st, 992nd, 993rd, 994th, 995th, 996th, 997th, 998th, 999th, 1000th.

PREPARATION FOR PUBLIC SCHOOLS.—The Rev. G. F. WRIGHT, M.A., late Fellow of C. C. C. Cambridge, and Senior Assistant-Master of Wellington College, formerly Assistant-Master of Shrewsbury School, receives BOYS from Nine years of age. Large House, with 17 acres of Playgrounds. One Mile from Rugby. A list of References—including the Rev. Dr. KENNEDY, Canon of Ely, Regius Professor of Greek, Cambridge, formerly Head-Master of Shrewsbury; Rev. Dr. BENSON, Master of Wellington College; Masters at Rugby, and Parents of Boys—sent on application. Terms, inclusive, under Twelve, £25; over Twelve, £100.—Overseas, near Rugby.

CONTINENTAL PREPARATION FOR THE ARMY, NAVY, CIVIL SERVICE, INDIAN TELEGRAPH, &c.—The Rev. A. F. THOMSON, B.A., Oxon, Chaplain of Avranches, France, Author of the "English Schoolroom," "Milestones of Life," &c., having lately passed Two Candidates—Army, 2nd in French, 8th in order (4.19 marks), out of 150 successful Competitors; Indian Telegraph, 1st in French, 6th in order, out of 30 Competitors—has VACANCIES.—Address, Chateau du Querquet, Avranches, France.

EDUCATION (First-Class) in GERMANY, including thorough French, German, Classics, Mathematics, Natural Sciences, Drawing, Gymnastics, Music, &c. Liberal Table. Kind and judicious treatment, and best Society. Highest references in London.—Address, Pastor F. VILMAR, Foreign School Agency, 46 Regent Street, W.

FOLKESTONE.—The Rev. C. L. ACLAND, M.A. of Jesus College, Cambridge, and Mr. W. J. JEFFERSON, M.A. of Lincoln College, Oxford, late Principal of the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay, prepare PUPILS for the Indian Civil Service and other Competitive Examinations.—Terms and references on application.

TUITION by the SEA.—A BENEFICED CLERGYMAN (M.A. Trin. Coll. Camb.) receives PUPILS preparing for the Universities, the Civil Service, and Army Examinations.—Address, M.A., Charnmouth, Dorset.

A MARRIED CLERGYMAN, late Scholar of Corp. Ch. Coll. Camb. (Classical Honors), Vicar of a Seaside Parish near Plymouth, wishes to receive a few PUPILS to prepare for the Public Schools, &c. Good House and Garden. Terms moderate.—Address, Rev. A. C., 35 Blandford Square, London.

A GERMAN PIANOFORTE PLAYER, Pupil of the Conservatoire of Vienna, wishes to undertake the TUITION of a First-class School or College in Town or Country. References to Schools.—For Terms, address A. B. W., Post Office, Ladbroke Grove, Notting Hill.

EDINBURGH ACADEMY.—The DIRECTORS of the EDINBURGH ACADEMY are prepared to receive Applications for the Situation of FRENCH MASTER, from which Mr. MACLACHLAN has announced his intention of retiring at the close of the present Session. The new French Master will not be required to enter on his duties till October 1st, but Applications accompanied by Twenty Copies of Testimonials, must be lodged on or before May 15, with Mr. ALEXANDER BROWN, Clerk to the Directors, 7 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh, who will also give full particulars as to the Office.

TO LADIES and GENTLEMEN READING in PUBLIC; CONCERTS, BALLS, &c.—The QUEEN'S CONCERT ROOMS, Hanover Square.—The Patrons of these unique Rooms are respectfully entreated to be early in their application to secure the best Seats. The Large Hall is admitted by all to possess remarkable acoustic properties.—W. HALL, Manager; ROBERT COCK, Proprietor.

MSS. TO COPY WANTED, by a LADY who Writes a Clear Hand. Moderate terms. Unexceptionable references.—Address, M. B., care of Messrs. Spottiswoode & Co., Printers and Law Stationers, 30 Parliament Street, S.W.

LITERARY INVESTMENT.—For SALE, a Half-Share in an Established high-class WEEKLY JOURNAL, which presents to any Gentleman of independent means and literary tastes peculiarly political influence and social advantages.—Address, by letter, E. C., 112 St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

GROUSE SHOOTING and FISHING.—TO BE LET for this Season, or for such Term of Years as may be agreed on, the well-known GROUSE SHOOTING of ACHNASHEEN and STRATHROMBELL, or LOCH ROSQUE, extending to 11,000 acres, with Right of FISHING in LOCH ROSQUE.

LOCH ROSQUE LODGE, which is commodious, contains comfortable accommodation, and is suitably furnished, is situated at the foot of Loch Rosque, which is about Six Miles long. Besides the Lodge, there is a Stable and a Coachhouse, with Kennels, Garden, and an enclosed Park for a Cow and Pony; as also a House with two Rooms and a Closet, besides a Loft above, fitted up for a Gamekeeper and Servants. The Lodge is close to the post road at Achnasheen, where there is a Post-Office, and within a few hours' drive of Dingwall, to and from which the Mail carrying Passengers passes daily, and there are regular Carriers to Dingwall, by whom all Supplies may be obtained and Game forwarded.

The Grounds have been carefully protected from poachers, and all kinds of vermin, and are well known to abound in Grouse. The Trout Fishing by rod or net is superior. Wild Fowl are also numerous in the season.

Applications to be made to Mr. JAMES CAMERON, Balmakyle, by Munloch; Mr. SNOWIE, Gunmaker, Inverness; or to Messrs. LINDAY, JAMIESON, & HALDANE, Accountants, 21 St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.

EDINBURGH, April 9, 1869.

ILFRACOMBE HOTEL.—REDUCED TARIFF until the 1st of May. Delightful Location at all times, and especially attractive in Spring.—Address, J. BOHN, Ilfracombe, North Devon.

HYDROPATHY.—SUDBROOK PARK, Richmond Hill, S.W. Physician.—DR. EDWARD LANE, M.A., M.D. Edin. Turkish Baths.

CANCER HOSPITAL (Free), founded 1851—Brompton, and 167 Piccadilly, S.W.—30 Beds, but only 40 occupied for WANT of FUNDS. More than 200 Out-patients, many seeking Admission.

Treasurer—Geo. T. HENRIET, Esq., Lord Chamberlain's Office, St. James's Palace. Bankers—Messrs. Courts & Co., Strand.

By Order. H. J. JUPP.

NOTICE OF REMOVAL.

MR. O. G. REJLANDER begs to acquaint his Friends and Customers, and their Friends, that, after the 7th April next, he will continue his PHOTOGRAPHIC PROFESSION at Albert Mansions, Victoria Street (opposite the Victoria Station), S.W.

129 Maiden Road, London, N.W., March 29, 1869.

MESSRS. THRUPP & MABERLY respectfully inform the Nobility and Gentry that they have undertaken the COACHMAKING BUSINESS of Messrs. RIGBY & ROBINSON, of Park Lane, which will in future be transacted at their old-established Coach Factory, 209 Oxford Street, and 33 George Street, Grosvenor Square.

MESSRS. RIGBY & ROBINSON, of 7 Park Lane, Coachmakers, beg to announce to their esteemed Friends and Patrons that they have TRANSFERRED their BUSINESS to Messrs. THRUPP & MABERLY, of 209 Oxford Street, who will conduct it carefully and attentively, with the assistance of Mr. ROBINSON.

THE AGRA BANK, Limited.—Established in 1833. CAPITAL, £1,000,000.

HEAD OFFICE—NICHOLAS LANE, LOMBARD STREET, LONDON.

Bankers—Messrs. GLYN, MILLS, CURRIE, & CO., and BANK OF ENGLAND. BRANCHES in Edinburgh, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Kurrachee, Agra, Lahore, Shanghai, Hong Kong.

Current Accounts are kept at the Head Office on the Terms customary with London Bankers, and Interest allowed when the Credit Balance does not fall below £100.

Deposits received for fixed periods on the following terms, viz.:

At 5 per cent. per ann., subject to 12 months' Notice of Withdrawal.

At 4 per cent. ditto ditto 6 ditto ditto

At 3 per cent. ditto ditto 3 ditto ditto

Exceptional Rates for longer periods than Twelve Months, particulars of which may be obtained on application.

Bills issued at the current exchange of the day on any of the Branches of the Bank, free of extra charge; and Approved Bills purchased or sent for collection.

Sales and Purchases effected in British and Foreign Securities, in East India Stock and Loans, and the safe custody of the same undertaken.

Interest drawn, and Army, Navy, and Civil Pay and Pensions realized.

Every other description of Banking Business and Money Agency, British and Indian, transacted.

J. THOMSON, Chairman.

IMPERIAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY.

CHIEF OFFICE—1 OLD BROAD STREET, LONDON.

BRANCH OFFICE—16 Pall Mall, London.

Instituted 1835.

The outstanding Sums assured by this Company, with the Bonuses accrued thereon, amount to about £2,000,000, and the Assets, consisting entirely of Investments in First-class Securities, amount to upwards of £300,000.

The Assurance Reserve Fund alone is equal to more than nine times the Premium Income. It will hence be seen that ample Security is guaranteed to the Policy-holders. Attention is invited to the Prospectus of the Company, from which it will appear that all kinds of Assurances may be effected on the most moderate terms and the most liberal conditions.

The Company also grants Annuities and Endowments.

Prospectuses may be obtained at the Offices as above, and of the Agents throughout the Kingdom.

ANDREW BADEN, Actuary and Manager.

IMPERIAL FIRE INSURANCE COMPANY.

1 OLD BROAD STREET, and 16 and 17 Pall Mall.

Established 1803.

SUBSCRIBED AND INVESTED CAPITAL AND RESERVE FUND, £1,600,000.

Insurances can be effected on every description of Property at Home or Abroad at Moderate Rates of Premium, and entirely Free of Duty after Midsummer next; meanwhile, the exact proportion of Duty will be charged provisionally.

Claims liberally and promptly settled.

Loss or damage by Gas Explosion made good. No charge for either Policy or Stamp.

The usual Commission allowed to Merchants and Brokers effecting Foreign and Ship Insurances.

JAMES HOLLAND, Superintendent.

SCOTTISH UNION INSURANCE COMPANY.

FIRE and LIFE.

Established 1824, and Incorporated by Royal Charter.

LONDON, 37 CORNHILL; EDINBURGH; AND DUBLIN.

CAPITAL, FIVE MILLIONS STEELING.

Invested Funds at August 1, 1868 £1,045,613

Annual Revenue from all sources 225,328

Amount of Life Insurances in force 4,500,000

Copies of Prospectus and all other information, may be obtained on application at 37 Cornhill, London, or of the Company's Agents.

By Order of the Directors,

ROBERT STRACHAN, Secretary.

JOHN JACKSON, Assistant-Secretary.

HAND-IN-HAND FIRE and LIFE INSURANCE OFFICE,

1 NEW BRIDGE STREET, BLACKFRIARS, E.C.

The Oldest Office in the Kingdom. Instituted for Fire Business, A.D. 1696. Extended to Life, 1826.

LAW LIFE ASSURANCE SOCIETY, Fleet Street,

London.

For the Assurance of the Lives of Persons in every Station of Life.

Invested Assets—FIVE MILLIONS, FOUR HUNDRED AND TWENTY-FIVE THOUSAND POUNDS.

Annual Income—UPWARDS OF HALF-A-MILLION.

Assurances are granted upon the Lives of any Persons for Sums not exceeding £10,000, either with participation in Profits, or at a lower rate of Premium without participation in Profits. Profits are divided every fifth year, four-fifths thereof being appropriated to the persons assured on the participating scale of Premium.

At the Six Divisions of Profits which have been made, Bonuses amounting in the aggregate to £4,164,147 have been added to the several Policies.

The Claims paid to December 31, 1868, amounted to £7,914,399, being in respect of Sums assured by Policies £5,119,804, and £2,800,595 in respect of Bonuses thereon.

Prospectuses, Statements of Accounts, Forms of Proposal, &c., may be obtained, and Assurances effected, through any Solicitor in Town or Country, or by application direct to the Actuary at the Office in London.

GRIFFITH DAVIES, Actuary.

DIVIDENDS 5 and 10 to 20 PER CENT.

For Safe and Profitable Investments
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Colours, 10s. 6d.; Pocket Sable Brushes, 2s. and 7s. 6d.; Silver Pencil and Brush Case 6d.

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RODRIGUES' DRESSING CASES and TRAVELLING DRESSING BAGS, with Silver, Silver Gilt, or Plated Fittings in every variety. MOUNTED and ORNOLU SUITES for the WRITING TABLE.

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At HENRY RODRIGUES, 49 PICCADILLY, LONDON, W.

AMERICAN BOWLING ALLEYS.—

W. HAWKE & SON, Wild Court, Great Wild Street, Drury Lane, London, W.C. Contract to deliver and fix complete AMERICAN BOWLING ALLEYS in Mansions and Public Institutions in any part of the Kingdom.

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PATENT.—We, the undersigned, hereby acknowledge the validity of this PATENT, and undertake not to sell any of the Goods we have in our possession alleged by Messrs. ADOLPH FRANKAU & COMPANY to be an infringement of the said PATENT, and not to make, or allow to be made for us, any more of such Goods.

Dated this 15th day of April, 1869.

M. WOLFSKY & CO.

JEWEL ROBERIES.—CHUBB'S JEWEL SAFES for

Ladies' Dressing Rooms give the Greatest Security from the Attacks of Burglars. All Sizes, with various Fittings, from 47 upwards.—CHUBB & SON, Makers to the Queen, 57 St. Paul's Churchyard.

COOKS FOUR EGGS on the BREAKFAST TABLE in

FIVE MINUTES.

MAPPIN & WEBB, Sole Makers of the EGG STEAMER,

at 20s., 25s., and 30s. each. Electro-Plated on Nickel Silver.

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CABINET MAKERS.

UPHOLSTERERS, BEDDING WAREHOUSEMEN, AND

APPRAISERS.

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(TUCKER'S PATENT).

SUITABLE FOR EVERY DESCRIPTION OF METAL AND WOOD

BEDSTEADS.

May be obtained (price from 25s.) of most respectable Upholsterers and Bedding Warehousemen, and of

JOHN HENRY SMEE & CO.

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CAUTION.—JOHN HENRY SMEE & COMPANY beg to

give Notice that their

SPECIAL DESIGNS OF PLAIN AND INLAID ASHWOOD BEDROOM

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are entered at Stationers' Hall, and each Sheet is marked with their Name as above, and the

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FURNISH your HOUSE with the BEST ARTICLES; they

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36s.—THE MAYFAIR SHERRY.—36s.

Fit for a Gentleman's Table.

Bottles included, and Carriage paid.

Cases, 2s. per Dozen extra (returnable).

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(Established upwards of a Century).

Mayfair, W., London.

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LIGHT BORDEAUX per doz. 24s. | FINE BORDEAUX per doz. 32s.
An excellent Dinner Wine. | A Dessert Wine, with Bouquet.

Samples and a Detailed List of other Wines forwarded on application.
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DIMENTS.—E. LAZENBY & SON, Sole Proprietors of the celebrated Receipts, and Manufacturers of the Pickles, Sauces, and Condiments so long and favourably distinguished by their Name, are compelled to caution the Public against the inferior Preparations which are put up and labelled in close imitation of their Goods, with a view to mislead the Public.

Consumers having difficulty in procuring the Genuine Articles are respectfully informed that they can be had direct from the Manufacturers, at their Foreign Warehouse, 6 Edwards Street, Portman Square, London, W.

Priced Lists post free on application.

HARVEY'S SAUCE.—Caution.—The Admirers of this

celebrated Sauce are particularly requested to observe that each Bottle bears the well-known Label, signed "ELIZABETH HARVEY." This Label is protected by perpetual injunction in Chancery of the 9th July, 1856, and without it none can be genuine.

E. LAZENBY & SON, of 6 Edwards Street, Portman Square, London, as Sole Proprietors of the Receipt for Harvey's Sauce, are compelled to give this Caution, from the fact that their Labels are closely imitated with a view to deceive Purchasers.

Sold by all respectable Grocers, Druggists, and Oilmen.

E. LAZENBY & SON beg to announce that their POSTAL

ADDRESS has been changed from 6 Edwards Street, Portman Square, to 90 Wigmore Street, Cavendish Square; the Metropolitan Board of Works having directed that Edwards Street be united with Wigmore Street, under the title of Wigmore Street.

BREAKFAST.—EPPS'S COCOA.—The very agreeable

character of this Preparation has rendered it a general favourite. Grateful and comforting, with a refined flavour developed by the special mode of preparation applied, this Cocoa is used as their habitual beverage for breakfast by very many who never before used Cocoa. It is made simply by pouring boiling water or milk on the Preparation as sold in Tinned Packets. This Cocoa is prepared only by JAMES EPPS & CO., the Homoeopathic Chemists first established in this country, and their Names and Addresses are on each Packet.

SAUCE.—LEA & PERRINS.—SAUCE.

The "WORCESTERSHIRE," pronounced by Connoisseurs "The only Good Sauce," its use improves Appetite and Digestion. Unrivalled for Piquancy and Flavour. Beware of Imitations, to avoid which the following are the only reliable Labels and Labels. Ask for "LEA & PERRINS'" SAUCE.—Agents, CROSSE & BLACKWELL, London, and Sold by all Dealers in Sauces throughout the World.

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ELLIS'S RUTHIN WATERS, unsurpassed for their Purity.

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FIELDS' PURE "SPERMACETI" SOAP, 8d. and 1s.

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	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 2 0	1 2 0	1 4 0	9 0	6 0	6 0	3 0	1 6	2 6	19 6	3 0	10 0	3 0
	2 1 0	2 1 0	1 7 0	1 7 0	19 0	12 0	8 0	8 6	4 0	2 0	3 6	1 3 0	4 0	14 0	4 0
	2 2 0	2 2 0	1 10 0	1 10 0	1 1 0	13 6	8 0	9 0	4 6	2 3	4 0	1 3 0	4 0	15 0	4 6
Total.....	9 1 6	11 16 0	12 8 6	13 2 6											

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